

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

BEFORE BOUDICCA: THE WICKHAM MARKET HOARD AND THE MIDDLE PHASE GOLD COINAGE OF EAST ANGLIA

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THE recent hoard of eight hundred and forty gold staters found near Wickham Market in Suffolk is the largest hoard of Iron Age gold coins to come to light since the discovery of the Whaddon Chase hoard in Buckinghamshire in 1849. The new find is comparable in size to the lower estimates of Whaddon Chase and is over three times larger than the 1996 Alton hoard.² It is, therefore, the largest and most completely recorded gold hoard of modern times. Although hoards of East Anglian coinage – the regional series from which almost all of the coins originated – are not uncommon, most are comprised of silver issues produced in the last decades of insular production and their deposition appears to be linked to the revolt of Boudicca in AD 60/1. The present hoard includes only gold, was deposited around forty years before the revolt and perhaps forms part of an earlier and hitherto unrecognised episode of hoarding activity. This paper includes a full analysis of the hoard, which is used to test the hypothesised structure and chronology of the middle phase of East Anglian coin production, proposed by one of the present authors, John Talbot, as part of a detailed study of the entire regional series.

Summary of the coins

In total 840 Iron Age gold staters were recovered from the site. All but ten are so-called ‘Freckenham’ staters, struck in the decades either side of the turn of the millennium. These, together with the five earlier ‘Snettisham’ staters, form part of the localised coinage tradition of Norfolk and parts of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, which is conventionally associated with the Iceni. The Iceni, who remain strongly linked to Boudicca, who famously led the revolt against the Romans in AD 60/1, are historically attested in the early Roman period but may have existed as a recognisable entity before Caesar’s invasions in 55/4 BC.³ The five remaining coins are broadly contemporary, but were issued in Lincolnshire and, thus, are associated with the Corieltavi (attested only after the Roman conquest). The content of the hoard is summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Summary of the hoard.

Region	Attribution	Type	Quantity
Lincolnshire	Corieltavi	‘Ferriby’	5
East Anglia	Iceni	‘Snettisham’	5
		‘Freckenham’	55
		EIS	188
		Irstead	221
		EBH	221
		BHB	366
Total			840

¹ The Wickham Market hoard was studied in detail by both authors. A catalogue and initial die study was completed by Ian Leins, a process aided by the existing die analysis provided by John Talbot. The article draws much from the longer-term research of Talbot into the coinage of Iron Age East Anglia. The structure, terminology and chronology of this regional coinage series, as well as the development of a new die technique, should be credited to John Talbot. The remaining interpretation of the hoard and its significance represents the work of both authors. We are grateful to Philip de Jersey, John Sills and Jude Plouviez for their advice and comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

² de Jersey has estimated Whaddon Chase at between 800 and 2000 coins (*pers. comm.*); see Cheesman 1998 on Alton.

³ Ptolemy, *Geography* II. See Julius Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 5.12 for reference to the ‘Cenimagni’, who can perhaps be equated with the Iceni.

The Freckenham coinage has been further divided in the summary table (above) and catalogue according to the classification developed by John Talbot during his detailed study of the regional series, discussed in more detail below (see also **Pls 1–6**). While these types do not correspond exactly to those of earlier catalogues, being based on a full die study rather than a typological approach, a rough concordance with Van Arsdell's standard catalogue is provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Classification of Freckenham staters developed by John Talbot, with corresponding terminologies and references from the standard catalogue of Van Arsdell (1989).

Talbot		<i>Van Arsdell (1989)</i>	
	<i>Type numbers</i>	<i>Type names</i>	<i>Conventional name</i>
Early Irstead (EIS)	cf. 624–1; 624–4; 624–7	Middle Freckenham	Freckenham
Irstead	cf. 626–1	Late Freckenham	Freckenham
Early Boar Horse (EBH)	cf. 626–4; 626–7; 626–9; 626–12	Late Freckenham	Freckenham
Boar Horse B (BHB)	cf. 620–1; 620–7; 620–9	Early Freckenham	Freckenham
<i>Not in WM hoard:</i>			
Boar Horse C (BHC)	cf. 620–4	Early Freckenham	Freckenham

Circumstances of discovery

An initial find, comprising 788 coins and base and body sherds from a wheel-thrown pottery vessel, was made in March 2008 by a metal detector user searching on farmland near Wickham Market in Suffolk. The discovery was reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and Suffolk County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS) under the provisions of the 1996 Treasure Act. It was subsequently delivered to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum to be recorded and catalogued.

A two-day excavation of the findspot was undertaken by SCCAS in October 2008 with the support of the British Museum and Suffolk County Council. Two adjacent trenches, both approximately 5 m by 5 m, were opened to the east of the spot where the main group of coins had been found. Forty-two coins were recovered from this area. A second small-scale excavation was carried out early in 2009 after illicit detecting at the site. This involved the removal of turf and topsoil from an area approximately one metre wide to the south and west of the earlier trench. A further ten coins were discovered during this process, taking the hoard total to 840.

The excavation suggested that the hoard was deposited immediately to the north-west of a small pit or posthole (0004) and to the west of two converging ditches (see Fig. 1). The western ditch (0008) included pottery of the first century AD; the eastern ditch (0010) ceramic material of both late Iron Age and Roman date. While the small pit and western ditch appear to have been broadly contemporary with the hoard, perhaps dating to the early first century AD, the eastern ditch is likely to be later, being open until at least the mid second century AD.⁴

The archaeological evidence is insufficient to allow detailed interpretation of the site and sheds little light on the reason for the hoard's deposition. That said, the proximity of the coins to a ditch (if it is contemporary with the hoard) may suggest that it was not buried at an isolated point away from human activity and thus may not have been deposited by an individual for safe-keeping, i.e. as a 'savings hoard'. Instead, it is possible that the hoard was buried within a domestic or ritual context. Further explanations for the hoard are offered below.

The assemblage of 840 coins and associated ceramic storage jar were declared Treasure at inquest in July 2009 and, at the time of writing, Ipswich Museum Service intended to acquire the find.

⁴ J. Plouviez, unpublished excavation report 2009.

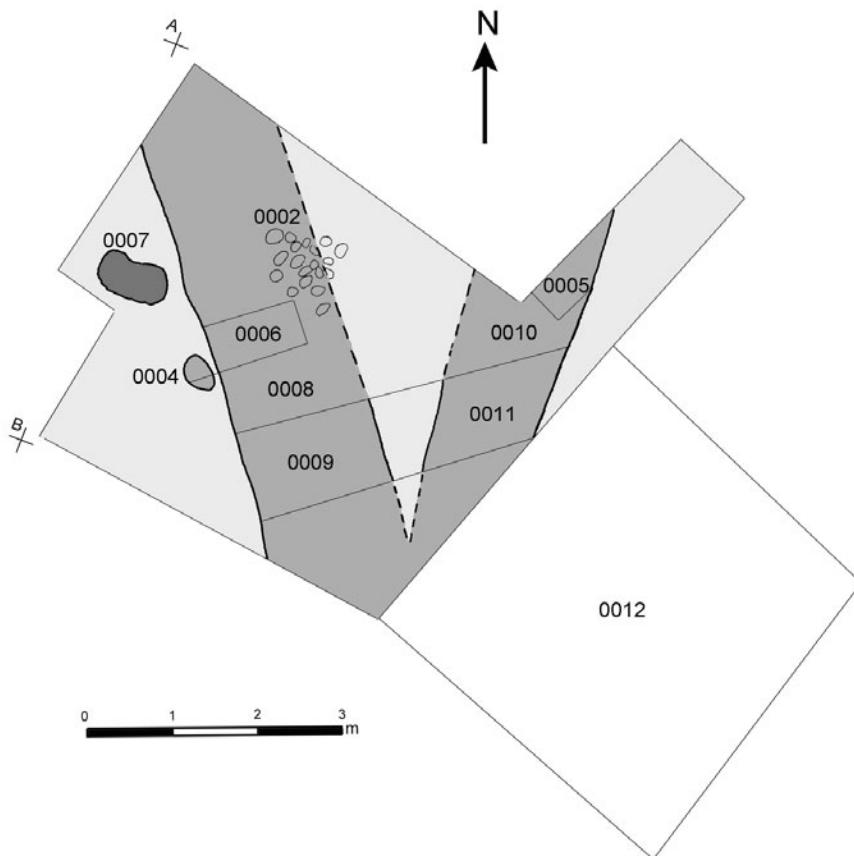


Fig. 1. Plan of the excavated features (courtesy of SCCAS). The main hoard was recovered from context 0007.

Previous work on the coinage of East Anglia

Over the past nine years John Talbot has undertaken a study of East Anglian Iron Age coinage (commonly and hereafter referred to as ‘Icenian’), which has involved a die study of all 9,500 recorded specimens of this series. The scale of this study exceeds anything previously attempted within British Iron Age numismatics. It has produced a new technique for the die-analysis of Iron Age coinage and offers a context for understanding the mechanics of production, as well as the structure and chronology of the types of coinage found in the Wickham Market hoard.

Composite die technique

A common feature of British Iron Age die-struck coins is that the dies were significantly larger than the resulting coins, meaning that each individual coin reveals only a section of the design on the die used to strike it.⁵ One of the by-products of Talbot’s die-linking work has been the development of a new process of constructing composite images of the dies as an aid to the identification of coins. Composite images were produced by stitching together photographs of coins from the same die using a computer graphics program. The composite die images proved to be of great benefit to Ian Leins during his initial die study of the hoard, which has in turn

⁵ Reverse die 11, on Pl. 2, for example, suggests the surface area of the die may have been at least twice as large as that of the coins.

added to these images. The large number of examples of some individual dies and the resulting likelihood of off-struck examples has enabled almost complete images to be obtained of a number of individual dies. Some illustrations combine elements from five or more individual coins. The results of this technique can be seen on **Pls 1–6**. The photographic die charts will greatly assist die identification and a very rapid analysis of future hoards and single finds of this type. For those seeking to use the technique, which is completed in Adobe Photoshop, brief notes are included in Appendix 2.

The structure of ‘Middle Phase’ Icenian coinage

Icenian coinage was struck in either gold or silver of varying levels of purity. It can be divided into three phases:

PHASE 1 (*c.50–20 BC*) – the earliest Icenian coinage was sub-regional or localised in terms of production and distribution. There were also no stylistic links between the gold and silver. The gold coins of this period include the British J or ‘Norfolk Wolf’ type stater, the silver comprises a range of early ‘face/horse’ types.⁶

PHASE 2 (*c.20 BC–AD 20*) – later series reveal clear denominational groupings, which sometimes incorporated all of the known denominations: gold staters and quarter staters, silver units and fractional units.

PHASE 3 (*c.AD 20–50*) – the final phase of Icenian coinage saw the introduction of inscriptions into much of the denominational coinage, with a marked reduction in the amount of gold being coined. The most common inscribed coinages are those bearing the legends ANTED or ECEN.

The coins in the Wickham Market hoard are all from the second or middle phase of the regional series. **Pl. 1** illustrates the main denominational groupings issued during this phase of production, showing an example of at least one stater and one silver unit for each of the major issues of coinage. The two most common quarter staters and an example of a fractional unit are also included. As **Pl. 1** demonstrates, the reverse design of the coins enables them to be linked into denominational groupings, whereas the obverse is specific to the denomination, often showing stylistic relationships to the obverses of other issues. The die study provided additional evidence to support the idea of these denominational relationships, such as the ‘Irstead’ silver units that were found to have been struck from an Irstead quarter stater die.⁷

As the summary reveals, the vast majority of the coins in the Wickham Market hoard are of the type usually referred to as Freckenham staters, named after the Suffolk village where a hoard was discovered in 1885. Other writers have recognised the need to separate these staters into different types (see Table 2).⁸ John Talbot’s research has allocated each denominational family a name currently in use for at least one of its components. As such, the various sub-types of Freckenham staters are usually identified by a name derived from their associated silver units. Three of these have been abbreviated for the purposes of this paper: Early Irstead stater to EIS, Early Boar Horse to EBH and Boar Horse B to BHB. The final Freckenham type stater, not present in the hoard, is the Boar Horse C or BHC.

Talbot’s study has attempted to refine the chronology of the Icenian coinage. This is reflected on **Pl. 1**, where the types are arranged in chronological order from the relatively early Snnettisham type through to the later BHC. The chronology has been determined by analysis of other hoards and in the case of the later issues, EBH to BHC, assisted by a methodol-

⁶ Talbot 2006, 213–41.

⁷ Talbot 2006, 213.

⁸ See also Chadburn 1991.

ogy which compares relative presence of silver units in the Boudiccan revolt hoards to provenanced casual losses. The unusual circumstances of the Icenian hoards, which all contain the final issues of the region and which appear to mark the end of the circulation of the coinage, have given a valuable insight into the relative ages of the later coinages.⁹

The significance and impact of the hoard

Table 3 shows the extent to which the Wickham Market hoard has increased the number of Phase 2 Icenian staters available for study.

TABLE 3. The content of the Wickham Market hoard compared to total recorded examples of each type of Phase 2 Icenian stater.

Type	Previous number known	No. in WM hoard	WM as percentage of total no. known
Snettisham	69	5	7%
EIS	21	55	72%
Irstead	55	188	77%
EBH	112	221	66%
BHB	88	366	81%
BHC	50	0	0%
Total	395	835	68%

The various Freckenham types are arranged in chronological order in Table 3. It is only in respect of the very earliest type in the hoard, the Snettisham stater, that the Wickham Market hoard coins do not now account for the majority of the known examples. One of the surprising features of the hoard was that relatively few previously unrecorded dies were found. This is illustrated in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Numbers of known dies showing the impact of the Wickham Market hoard.

Type	Total known dies		Dies represented in WM		Dies unique to WM		Dies missing from WM	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Snettisham	8	17	2	4	0	1	6	13
EIS	6	13	6	11	2	4	0	2
Irstead	7	11	7	10	0	1	0	1
EBH	4	14	4	14	1	0	0	0
BHB	17	16	14	13	3	2	3	3
Total	42	71	33	52	6	8	9	19

Analysis of the hoard has generally supported Talbot's earlier work on the chronology of the coinage. One method of assessing the relative age of the content of a hoard is to calculate the number of coins per die for each type, with those that have the greatest number of coins per die theoretically being the most recent at the point of deposition. This calculation automatically adjusts for differences in issue size and is reliant upon the not unreasonable assumption that the content of the hoard is biased towards the coinages produced closest to its deposition. The resulting calculations for the Wickham Market hoard are set out in Table 5. This shows both the average number of coins per die, based on the total number of obverse and reverse dies within the hoard divided by two, and the average number of coins per reverse die. The latter measurement may be more reliable, as Iron Age moneyers sometimes used an obverse die for an exceptionally long period of production; with the effect of distorting statistics based upon comparative obverse die numbers.

⁹ John Talbot, forthcoming.

TABLE 5. Average coins per die within the Wickham Market hoard.

Type	Average coins per die	Average coins per reverse die	Average weight, g	Adjusted average weight, g
Snettisham	1.67	1.25	5.58	5.60
EIS	6.47	5.00	5.52	5.57
Irstead	22.12	18.80	5.55	5.60
EBH	24.56	15.79	5.43	5.49
BHB	27.11	28.15	5.40	5.43

Table 5 clearly indicates the relative antiquity of Snettisham and EIS staters and suggests that BHB is the most recent coinage in the hoard, but it gives no clear indication as to which of the two remaining types, EBH and Irstead, was the earlier. Evidence from the late hoards and elsewhere suggests that EBH was generally later than Irstead, although there may have been a period of overlap. No attempt has been made to produce relative ages of the hoard content by examining circulation wear. Circulation wear is rarely obvious on Icenian coinage and demonstrably older coins are often found unworn in Icenian hoards. There is a general tendency among archaeologists and numismatists examining the 'degree of wear' on a coin to confuse die wear and circulation wear. Although a number of people have commented on the worn appearance of the Wickham Market hoard coins, there is no sign of wear consistent with an extended period of circulation prior to their deposition.

Table 5 also shows the average weight and an adjusted average weight for each of the Icenian types in the hoard. The adjusted average excludes from the calculation the heaviest 5% of coins and the lightest 30%, thus removing from the calculation distortion which may otherwise be created by the inclusion of damaged coins, forgeries or coins at the extremes of a normal statistical distribution. The coins have been weighed in an un-cleaned state but it is believed that the weight statistics will give a reasonable indication of the relative weight as the state of cleanliness of most of the coins in the hoard appears to be similar. The weights suggest that the three earliest types were issued to a common weight standard but that thereafter there was a modest decline in each of the two successive issues, resulting in BHB being some 3% lighter than the earliest issues.

The size of the hoard has provided an opportunity to assess whether the average weight of coins changed with time during the course of a single issue. The results of a preliminary study to examine the consistency of weights during the course of an issue are shown in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6. The average weight of sequential 'batches' of coinage.

Type	Dies	Number of coins	Average weight
Irstead	7	58	5.56
Irstead	8–9	34	5.52
Irstead	10–11	20	5.56
EBH	1–4	75	5.42
EBH	5–6	38	5.44
EBH	7–8	25	5.46
BHB	A–C	66	5.38
BHB	D–H	85	5.40
BHB	J–L	183	5.40

Table 6 shows the average weight per coin of three consecutive groups of dies in each of the three largest issues included within the hoard. The results of the analysis suggest that average weights were tightly controlled and reasonably consistent during the course of an issue, and that material changes in weight were not gradually introduced into the coinage but coincided with the introduction of a new type.

The hoard in its numismatic context

The content of the hoard strongly suggests that it was deposited towards the end of the production of BHB and prior to the introduction of BHC. Certain BHB dies are omitted from the hoard including dies Q and 14, the final dies in the small sequence shown as group II on **Pl. 6**. Dies R 15 and S 16 are also missing from the hoard and these dies have much in common stylistically with the BHC stater which followed BHB. In contrast all known EBH dies were represented in the hoard, as were all but one of the Irstead dies. The only Irstead die missing is die 6, which is known from only one example and may have been short-lived.

As part of his study of Icenian coinage, Talbot has developed a working hypothesis regarding the dating of the major coinages. There are few firm dates, but a number of Icenian issues are clearly closely related to those of Cunobelin and earlier leaders of groups immediately to the south of the area dominated by Icenian coinage. These clues have helped to provide some parameters, as have the Gallic Wars, the Roman conquest of AD 43 and the Boudiccan revolt in AD 60/1. The hypothesis suggests that the BHB coinage was issued in the first quarter of the first century AD.

Provided the Wickham Market hoard was deposited shortly after coinage ceased to be added to it, this indicates a deposition date of around AD 10–20. The other Icenian coin types which are present in quantity in the hoard are estimated to have been issued during the preceding twenty-five years or so, with the small number of Snettisham staters being somewhat older than this. Comments on the North Eastern (Corieltavian) and Icenian types are included below.

North Eastern ‘Ferriby’ types

The five uninscribed North Eastern staters (shown on **Pl. 6**) are broadly contemporary with the Icenian Snettisham and Freckenham staters. All are varieties of the so-called ‘Ferriby’ type but, interestingly, the sample includes a number of the more unusual sub-types within this coinage. One is of Van Arsdell’s ‘Sunflower type’ (VA 809), which was probably amongst the earliest of the Ferriby types, still showing links to the earlier uninscribed North Eastern ‘British I’ coinage. There are two regular Ferriby staters (VA 811), one of Van Arsdell’s ‘Wheel Type’ (VA 817) and one of a type referred to as ‘Transitional type three’ by the same author (VA 819). The latter type has a reverse die also used on the rare Trefoil stater (VA 821). The regular Ferriby type is much more common than the other types (accounting for over 80% of the coins recorded in the CCI) and thus the North Eastern staters are likely to represent the periodic flow of coins from the neighbouring region rather than a single group imported at one time. Alternatively, these coins may have been deliberately selected for their rarity.

Snettisham types

The five Snettisham staters, the oldest Icenian coins in the hoard, are shown on **Pl. 6**. Despite accounting for only 7% of the known examples, they include a coin struck from a previously unknown reverse die. There are 25 known dies for Snettisham staters (including 17 reverses) and these fall into three main die groups. Four of the Snettisham staters in the hoard are from a single die group, and three of these share an obverse die and two a reverse die. The fifth coin (cat. no. 10) has the previously unknown reverse die and the obverse die has not yet been identified. It appears from the die relationships that the Snettisham staters in the hoard may have been kept together since issue.

*Early Irstead (EIS) types (**Pl. 2**)*

The hoard has significantly increased our understanding of this early issue, increasing the number of previously known dies by 50%. **Pl. 2** shows that there are two separate die groups

making up this issue (a die group is a sequence of dies linked by sharing a common obverse or reverse with another die); however the number of known examples per die of this type is still low (see Table 5) and it may be that this coinage was produced in a continuous sequence, and there are links that remain to be discovered. The issue predates all other Icenian coinage in the hoard with the exception of the Snettisham staters and appears to represent a transitional stage between the Snettisham and Irstead types.

The EIS coinage seems to have been produced using only one obverse die at any one time, which suggests that it was issued gradually, probably over an extended period. Although there are few records of either the stater or the related silver unit and half-unit, the number of recorded dies from all denominations reveals that this was a substantial coinage. The earliest staters have a simple pelleted cross design on the obverse with a central ring and pellet. Several of the obverse dies continued in use with significant wear and damage and it is often hard to identify them; eight coins from the hoard remain with unidentified obverses. The final two obverses are characterised by the introduction of a new obverse design that came to dominate the later Irstead and EBH types. This retains the pelleted cross, but now has an arc in each quarter and a central rose-like design.

Six of the earliest reverse dies are unusual in having two small crosses and a pellet trefoil below the right facing horse. Prior to the discovery of the hoard only two of these dies were known. In subsequent dies this design was replaced by a wheel with either eight or four spokes. Towards the end of this sequence what had been two arcs over the horse's back, each containing two pellets, gave way to a continuous crescent shape containing a zigzag and pellet design evocative of the exergue of a Gallo-Belgic E stater. As such the reverse as well as the obverse shows a transition into the designs of the Irstead stater (**Pl. 3**) and it is possible that die links will eventually emerge that reveal a continuous sequence uniting the two types. Despite this, the EIS and Irstead coinages are treated separately in this paper, as the first issues of EIS appear to be much earlier than the Irstead, they have much lower survival rates and the related units are easily separated.

With the exception of the final dies, EIS dies are readily distinguishable from the Irstead coinage. Although the average weight of EIS staters is similar to that of the Irstead (see Table 5), metal analysis carried out in the past on these types suggests that the metal alloy of the former appears to be close to that of the Snettisham stater, with the gold content being slightly higher and the silver content lower in the Irstead staters.¹⁰

Irstead types (Pl. 3)

The Irstead stater is well represented in the Wickham Market hoard with all of the known dies present, except for one early reverse die. Stylistically, the earliest two reverse dies in the Irstead series are indistinguishable from EIS dies. EIS die 12 was clearly created by the same hand as Irstead dies 1 and 2, sharing detail such as the uncommon single line mane. The portrayal of the horse then becomes more typically 'Irstead', with obvious similarity to the quarter staters and units; a zigzag pattern is at that stage present in the exergue and a pellet-in-ring motif replaces the wheel below the horse on a number of dies.

The obverse design stays reasonably constant throughout the issue with little change from EIS dies E and F, except for there being a trefoil rather than quatrefoil central floral design and a slightly more complex central element from Irstead die D onwards. Die C is interesting as the field is divided by three pelleted lines rather than four, which matches the internal division of the central floral design, but this was a stylistic change that clearly did not gain momentum.

Pl. 3 shows that the Irstead stater is formed of three die groups. It is tempting to see this as a continuous sequence with missing die links that are yet to be found. There has to be doubt about this, however, as we have a high recovery rate of coins per die (see Table 5) and

¹⁰ Hobbs 1996, 187ff.

whilst the hoard increased the number of known examples from 55 to 243, it only added a single new die and no new die links connecting the other dies. In the case of other types of Icenian coin, Talbot has found that the known corpus of coins is made up of separate die groups which share common characteristics, are found together in hoards and at major Icenian centres, but which sometimes have differing distributions for 'casual losses'. This suggests that on occasion the die groups may represent the production of different mint sites. Unfortunately, there are only five provenanced non-hoard records of Irstead staters, which is insufficient to assess whether the three groups of dies have distinct distributions. It may be relevant, however, that there are a number of distinct die groups of the closely related Irstead quarter stater and some of these appear to show distinctive sub regional distributions. It is interesting that the slightly anomalous die C may be somewhat more logical if it were to be the first die of a distinct sub-group. There appears to be no material difference in average weight between the Irstead stater die groups and available evidence of metal content is inconclusive.

EBH types (Pl. 4)

Although the Wickham Market hoard vastly increased the number of known EBH staters from 112 to 333 coins, no new reverse dies and only a single new obverse die were found amongst the hoard coins. Fourteen reverse dies were used in minting this type but almost all of the production was derived from only two obverse dies, both of which were used until they became badly flawed and well worn.

The EBH obverse has much in common with the preceding Irstead stater, with the only significant difference being the much larger central floral design. The two rare obverses in group II (dies C and D), have a simplified design with two facing crescents at the centre of the pelleted cross. They do not appear to have been used extensively as they are only known from a total of four coins. Notwithstanding their rarity, these dies appear important as they were the first Icenian staters to bear the facing crescents which feature prominently on the succeeding BHB stater and on the region's later gold and silver coinage.

The reverses are very easily distinguished from those of the earlier Irstead stater, showing a deeply cut horse with a spiked mane. The crescent design above the horse is also replaced by a pelleted rosette and pellet-ended open crescents, often referred to as torcs. Remarkably full images of some of these dies have been obtained from the hoard. The first two dies in group I have a pellet rosette sitting on a torc above the horse. In later group I and all group II dies this element of the design is replaced by a large wheel. All group I reverse dies and the first two group II dies have a small spoked wheel below the horse, which is replaced by a seven pellet rosette in the final four group II dies.

As with the Irstead stater, it is logical to read the coinage as a single chronological sequence following the order of the numbering and lettering used on Pl. 4. This assumes that either there are die links yet to be found between groups I and II or that the groups were not linked, as a new obverse die was created for the new reverses of group II, possibly after a lapse in production. The two die groups could also be separate sub-groups possibly representing production at two mint sites, but with similar design elements. Interestingly, there are two die groups making up the very closely related EBH silver unit coinage, and each group has a different pattern of sub-regional distribution. Although there are only two provenanced non-hoard die group II staters and six from die group I, the group II coins appear to exhibit a more westerly distribution. Non-hoard coins suggest that coins from die group II have a lower gold content than those from die group I. John Talbot has therefore suggested that these variations support the concept of separate mint sites, but that they are not definitive as a decline in purity is often read as an indicator of chronology and it is of course possible that any differences in distribution between the two die groups may represent the movement of people, political influence or trading patterns over time.

The adjusted average weight of the coins in the hoard is 5.5 g for group 1 and 5.48 g for group 2, a difference that appears too small to be significant; indeed the unadjusted average

weight for all coins in each group suggests that group 2 is marginally heavier at 5.44 g compared with 5.43 g for group 1.

BHB types (Pls 5–6)

BHB staters dominate the Wickham Market hoard, accounting for 44% of the coins and increasing the number of known examples from 88 to 454. Five new BHB dies were found in the hoard and many new die links. Six known dies were not represented in the hoard and it is likely that all of these postdate the most recent coins in the hoard, giving an indication of the relative date of deposition.

As can be seen in **Pls 5–6** there are two die groups and, in addition, two pairs of dies (R 15 and S 16) that are so far unlinked to either group. It is clear from an analysis of the die links shown on **Pl. 5** that in die group I at certain times at least two reverse and two obverse dies were being used simultaneously. This suggests more intensive production activity than in the cases of the other types considered above. Die group II is a separate sequence at more modest levels of production, with the few provenanced non-hoard examples appearing to have an easterly bias in their distribution.

All obverses have a design which uses two facing crescents. In group I there is always a triangle of pellets above and below the crescents and a horizontal line of pellets either side of them. In the early dies the lower part of the field below the crescents is raised, making the coin thinner in this area. There are lines in a V shape spreading out from the tips of the crescents. The earliest die group II obverses resemble EBH dies C and D but with a ring and pellet device in each corner. Die P has additional detail with thumbnail like crescents and decoration in the field. The final obverse die reverts to a typical group I type obverse.

The reverse dies of die group I have a star immediately below the horse. The upper detail is variable with the first four dies having a pelleted rosette as the principal element, which is then superseded by three or fewer pellets in a pellet ring. All have additional decoration. There are only two die group II reverses and both have pelleted rosettes as the principal design elements above and below the horse. The design below the horse on the group II dies, like the obverse dies M, N and P, shows continuity of design from the EBH group II dies. Two distinctive styles of horse's head were introduced with the BHB coinage. The earliest type is based around a figure of 8 as is shown clearly on die 1 on **Pl. 5** and particularly well on die 13 from group II (**Pl. 6**). The second type is formed with a pellet, a crescent and a rectangle, as is shown clearly on die 11. These heads were also used on the BHB silver units (see **Pl. 1**). Die 5 is anomalous in that the head appears to be depicted in a more naturalistic manner evocative of some of the earlier Icenian face horse units.¹¹ The gradual evolution of design in Icenian gold coin production is beautifully demonstrated by the reverses of BHB die group I. In the contemporaneous BHB silver units the design elements were much more tightly controlled and showed limited design evolution, with the exception of the two forms of head, despite the use of at least forty-seven dies.

The reverses of the pairs of dies (R 15 and S 16) which are so far not linked into any sequence are stylistically very similar to the BHC stater which appears to have superseded BHB (see **Pl. 1**). Indeed certain BHC staters appear to be by the same hand as that which produced these two dies.

Comparative hoard analysis

Icenian hoards are relatively common from the period of the Boudiccan Revolt, but earlier hoards are considerably rarer. A few gold stater hoards, which include similar types of staters to those in the Wickham Market hoard have been found, the best known of which came from

¹¹ Talbot 2006, 221, fig. 15.

Freckenham, Suffolk in 1885. Table 7 compares the content of Wickham Market, Freckenham (for which two estimates are included) and other relevant hoards.

TABLE 7. Hoards of similar composition to Wickham Market.

Type	F: JT	F: HM	Little Saxham	'Hoard A'	North Norfolk	Wickham Market
Snettisham	0	0	0	0	0	5
EIS	7	8	0	1	1	55
Irstead	11	26	1	10	2	188
EBH	29	49	0	18	5	221
BHB	2	1	1	0	1	366
BHC	0	0	5	0	0	0
Total	49	84	7	29	9	835

Freckenham (1885)

The hoard was first described by Montagu in 1886, the year after its reported discovery.¹² Initial reports suggested that it comprised eighty-four coins, although the author thought that the actual figure may have exceeded ninety, but catalogued eighty-four coins. The material is divided into four basic types, three of which were borrowed from the typology of Evans (1864) and can be equated with (in order) Talbot's BHB, EBH and Irstead types. The fourth type, at that time an unpublished variety, was part of Talbot's EIS coinage. This clearly suggested to Ian Leins a composition of at least eight EIS, twenty-six Irstead, forty-nine EBH and one BHB staters (Table 7, 'F: HM'). These figures, it should be noted, were either confused or amended without explanation by Evans (later repeated by Allen).¹³

John Talbot has attempted his own reconstruction and die study of the hoard, finding photographic records of at least forty-nine coins which emanate from it (Table 7, 'F: JT'). This includes forty-seven coins which are securely provenanced and an additional BHB stater recorded as being found at Freckenham in 1885, but not recorded as being from the hoard. The additional BHB stater may be one of the extra coins referred to by Montagu. In addition to the coins in the table, two additional staters now in the British Museum collection but originally owned by Montagu – one EIS and one Irstead – are recorded as probably being from Freckenham. It seems that all coins in the hoard which were perceived to be unusual can still be traced today, in contrast with the 'commoner' Irstead and EBH staters where little more than half can be found, presumably as a result of the leading collectors of the day retaining for themselves the rarer types with a note as to provenance. This should serve as a warning to anyone seeking to extrapolate the content of historic hoards based upon presently known coins.

The single BHB stater recorded and illustrated by Montagu is from dies A 3 and the additional BHB identified by Talbot is also from early BHB dies, B 4. EBH staters dominate the hoard with nine of the fourteen known reverse dies represented in the twenty-eight coins of which we have a photographic record. It is worthy of note that the final EBH die group II obverse dies C and D, and the reverses 13 and 14, are not represented in the photographic records, nor are the distinctive obverse dies C and D described by Montagu in his excellent written observations on the varieties in the hoard.

The presence of early BHB staters and the absence of the final EBH dies suggest an overlap in the production of these two types. As we shall see this is not supported by evidence from 'Hoard A' and the North Norfolk hoard, although these hoards have fewer recorded coins and the source data is much less reliable.

It is clear that the profile of the Freckenham hoard is different to Wickham Market, which appears to have closed some years later.

¹² Montagu 1886. His catalogue was based on the typology developed by Evans 1864.

¹³ Evans 1890, 578–83; see also Allen 1960, 196.

Little Saxham (1990–6)

A scattered group of nine coins was found by a metal detector user searching in the parish of Little Saxham in Suffolk between January 1990 and May 1996. Seven of the coins were staters that are likely to have formed part of a single hoard or series of deposits, the other two (a gold quarter stater and part of a later inscribed ANTED silver unit) were some way from the nearest stater and are likely to be distinct deposits. The single Irstead stater is of late dies E 9 and the only BHB stater in the group is from dies J 10, which is towards the end of the main BHB sequence. The remaining coins are all BHC staters, making this clearly the latest of the hoards examined.

'Hoard A' (1994)

Hoard A is the least reliable data set. It appears that a hoard of over fifty staters was found in 1994 but was dispersed without being declared, and information about its provenance is contradictory. The CCI managed to record 29 coins which appeared in the trade at this time and are likely to be from this hoard. These include a full range of Irstead staters and ten of the fourteen EBH reverse dies including the very late die 14 in combination with the scarce die C. No BHB staters were recorded as being from the hoard. This hoard seems to have been deposited at a similar time as the Freckenham hoard.

North Norfolk (2000–2002)

This hoard is an accumulation of staters found in a village in North Norfolk, which was perhaps a scattered hoard. The small group of staters has a similar profile to Hoard A and Freckenham. It ends with a single BHB stater from the early dies B 2. The hoard includes a late EBH stater, in this case from dies B 14. The late EBH staters in Hoard A and North Norfolk combined with an early BHB stater in the North Norfolk hoard suggest that EBH and BHB were probably consecutive, which is contradictory in relation to the evidence from Freckenham. Unfortunately, neither Hoard A nor the North Norfolk hoard is adequately recorded and thus there has to remain doubt over the relative timing of EBH and BHB.

Analysis

The analysis of these hoards shows that three have a similar profile and are likely to have been deposited at approximately the same time, presumably in response to a specific set of circumstances. It is tempting to speculate that there may even have been a connection between the circumstances that led to their deposition and the change in coinage from EBH to BHB. The Wickham Market hoard, however, includes later coinage and the Little Saxham hoard was later still.

Hoards of Icenian gold or silver coinage are uncommon with the exception of those relating to the Revolt period. These hoards all contain the final issues of Icenian coinage. The rarity of earlier hoards makes the above grouping of hoards all the more significant. It is worthy of note that there are no records of gold hoards which appear to have been deposited during the production of EIS or Irstead staters, and only Hoard A above was conceivably deposited during the production of EBH staters, but if so this was towards the end of that issue. The proximity in time of all five hoards discussed above, and the absence of hoards from other periods, suggests that the Wickham Market and Little Saxham hoards may also have some connection to the circumstances that led to the deposition of the earlier three hoards.

The map (Fig. 2) shows the findspots of the four provenanced hoards. It reveals that three of the hoards are located towards the southern limits of the Icenian territory, as identified by the distribution of the regional coinage. This distribution perhaps points to the potential causes of their deposition. If, as has been suggested, the Wickham Market hoard was deposited in about AD 10–20, and the other four hoards were broadly contemporary, there is no historical evidence to explain the phenomenon (in the way that the Boudiccan revolt would appear

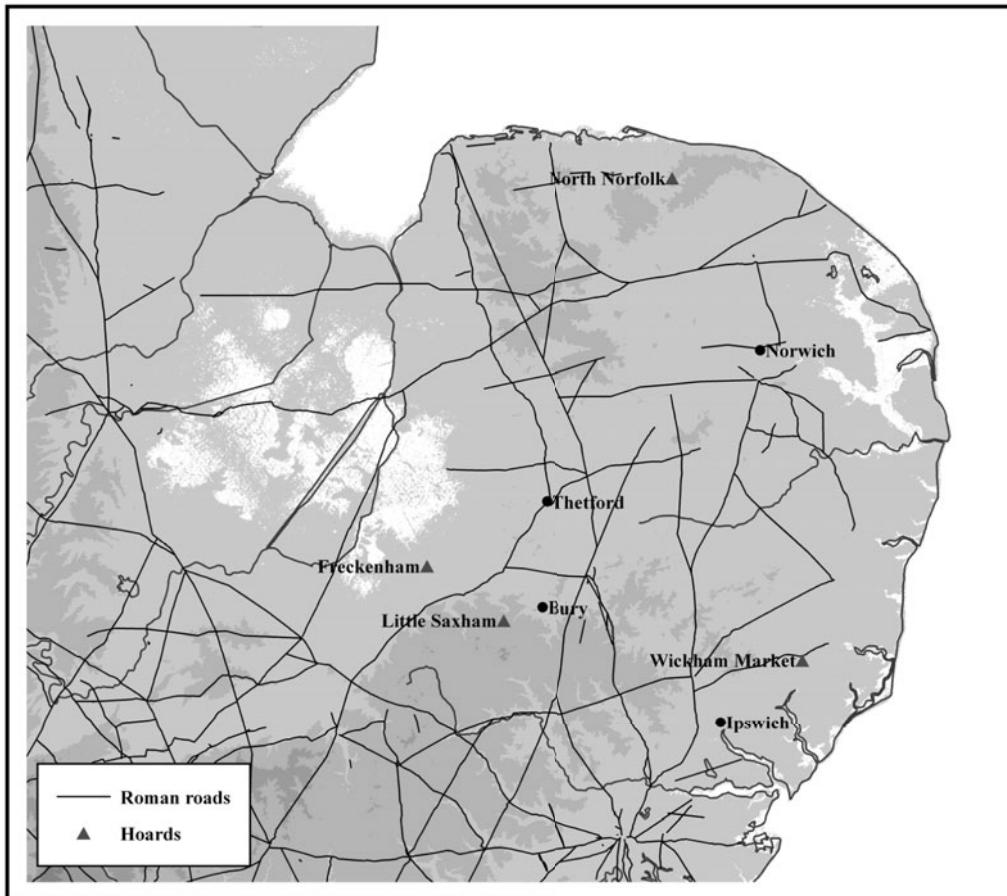


Fig. 2. Map showing the location of recorded Phase 2 Icenian hoards.

to explain the hoarding episode some forty years later). Interestingly, however, this period coincides with the early years of the reign of Cunobelin, who is thought to have ruled over the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni from around AD 10 until 40. The distribution of his coins suggests that his influence quickly spread over a number of previously distinctive groups until he dominated an area covering modern Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire and much of the Thames Valley. Thus, his influence spread right to the margins of the Icenian territory. The deposition of substantial gold hoards discussed above may reflect the re-negotiation of political power in this region in the first decades of the first century AD, conceivably involving open conflict.

Conclusions

The Wickham Market hoard is the largest hoard of British Iron Age gold coins to be discovered in more than 150 years. In spite of its size, the content derives from a relatively restricted group of issues from the middle phase of Icenian coin production (*c.*20 BC–AD 20). With the development of John Talbot's new technique for producing composite photographic die illustrations, the sheer quantity of material from a relatively restricted group of dies of four main types has enabled almost complete images to be created for many of the dies used in the production of these coins. This, in turn, has allowed the hoard to be subjected to an almost unprecedented degree of analysis. Definitive chronological sequences of dies can now be identified, so that the development of the design of the staters can be clearly established.

The overall analysis of the hoard, and in particular Table 5, serves to confirm the structure and chronology ascribed to this period of Icenian coinage by Talbot as part of his broader study of the region's coinage, outlined above. The earliest staters in the hoard are from the

Snettisham series. These were followed by EIS and then Irstead, which may have been issued at the same time as EBH. The latest coinage in the hoard is BHB. The analysis of the Wickham Market hoard, and its comparison with earlier die studies of the BHB coinage, suggests that the hoard was closed shortly before the end of production of BHB, probably towards the end of the first quarter of the first century AD.

None of the other hoards of the same phase include either Snettisham or North Eastern (Corieltavian) staters. The inclusion of the older Snettisham staters is perhaps unsurprising given the large size of the Wickham Market hoard and whilst the presence of Ferriby staters is unusual in an Icenian hoard, it is not uncommon for Icenian and Corieltavian coinage to have moved between each other's areas of circulation. The massive undeclared 'Bowl hoard' from Snettisham, dispersed in about 1992, also appears to have contained significant quantities of Corieltavian coinage. In the Wickham Market hoard, this material includes an unusual range of sub-types, suggesting that they may be the result of prolonged contact over an extended period or, more interestingly and more speculatively, the deliberate selection of varied types.

The Wickham Market hoard has also highlighted an episode of hoarding towards the end of the middle phase of Icenian coinage production the evidence for which is summarised in this paper. This episode differs from the hoards attributed to the Boudiccan revolt in that it only appears to involve gold coinage and seems to be focused primarily on the southern borders of the Icenian area. It may be coincidence, but at least four of the five hoards that relate to this period appear to close on or about the date of transition from one coinage to another. The date and the location of these hoards offer the tantalising possibility that they might reveal the link to a period of political uncertainty and re-negotiation that accompanied the rise of Cunobelin to the south.

An interesting by-product of the research into hoards of the same period has been the re-creation of the original contents of the Freckenham hoard by comparing contemporary descriptions of the coins with the die charts created from the current hoard. The authors have then been able to compare the original contents of the hoard with current records of coins known to originate from the hoard and, perhaps not surprisingly, have discovered that all the unusual coins in the hoard are still known whereas only a sample of the commoner types can now be traced. This has some relevance as there has been some confusion over the dating of deposition of the late hoards of Icenian silver units as a result of work by John Creighton, who assumed that the presently known content of antiquarian finds of late silver units reflected their original content and used this to demonstrate differences in the original age profile of the late hoards, particularly when compared to fully documented more recent hoards.¹⁴ This work conflicts with recent work by John Talbot, who has found the Icenian content of those late hoards – for which full photographic records exist – to be homogenous.¹⁵

The authors believe that the focused quantity of material available in the hoard, particularly when fully cleaned, provides scope for much future research and for much more to be learned about die production, die wear, coinage production and the use of metals within coinage during this period of the late Iron Age.

APPENDIX 1. CATALOGUE

KEY

MD	Found by M. Darke using a metal detector, April 2008	MD (KL)	Found by K. Lewis using a metal detector, April 2008
MD add	Found by M. Darke, April to October 2008	EX SF	Recovered during excavation Oct. 2008 (SF = small find no.)
EX add	Recovered from topsoil by archaeologists, October 2008	(b)	Coin broken

¹⁴ Creighton 1994, 326–327, see especially fig. 1.

¹⁵ Talbot, forthcoming.

North East – CORIELTAVIAN (5)

Ferriby (5)

No.	Type	Discovery	Weight
1.	Ferriby type (V809–1 / BM 3146)	EX SF 1020	5.50
2.	Ferriby type (V811 / BM 3152)	MD add	5.53
3.	Ferriby type (V811 / BM 3152)	MD add	5.58
4.	Ferriby type (V817–1 / BM 3180)	MD add	5.38
5.	Ferriby type (V819–3)	EX SF 1003	5.64

East Anglian – ICENIAN (835)

Snettisham (5)

No.	Type	Discovery	Weight
6.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3360)	MD	5.53
7.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3360)	MD	5.61
8.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3365)	MD	5.58
9.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3375)	MD	5.62
10.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3375)	MD	5.56

Early Irstead (55), cf. V624–1, 624–4, 624–7 and BM 3390–3395, 3399

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
11.	A	2	MD	5.53	39.	E	11	MD	5.46
12.	A	2	MD	5.53	40.	E	11	MD	5.73
13.	A	3	MD	5.38	41.	E	11	MD	5.61
14.	A	3	MD	5.60	42.	E	11	MD	5.72
15.	B	4	MD	5.54	43.	E	11	MD	5.69
16.	B	4	EX SF 1024	5.47	44.	E	11	MD	5.67
17.	B	5	MD	5.58	45.	E	11	MD	5.58
18.	B	6	MD	5.57	46.	E	11	MD	5.66
19.	B	7	MD	5.42	47.	E	11	MD	5.45
20.	C	9	MD	5.41	48.	E	11	MD	5.73
21.	C	9	MD	5.49	49.	E	11	MD	4.29
22.	D	8	MD	5.29	50.	E	11	MD (KL)	5.53
23.	D	8	MD	5.46	51.	E	11	EX SF 1010	5.62
24.	D	8	MD	5.49	52.	E	11	EX SF 1035	5.72
25.	D	8	MD	5.51	53.	E	12	MD	5.69
26.	D	8	MD	5.42	54.	E	12	MD	5.60
27.	D	8	MD	5.47	55.	F	12	MD	5.66
28.	D	8	MD	5.61	56.	F	12	MD	5.52
29.	D	8	MD	5.39	57.	F	12	MD	5.67
30.	D	13	MD	5.51	58.	Poor	8	MD	5.45
31.	D	11	MD	5.56	59.	Poor	13	MD	5.41
32.	D	11	MD	5.62	60.	Poor	13	MD	5.42
33.	D	11	MD	5.40	61.	Poor	13	MD	5.33
34.	E	11	MD	5.71	62.	Poor	13	MD	5.50
35.	E	11	MD	5.52	63.	Poor	13	MD	5.47
36.	E	11	MD	5.56	64.	Poor	11	MD	5.47
37.	E	11	MD	5.61	65.	Poor	11	MD	5.50
38.	E	11	MD	5.50					

Irstead (188), cf. V 626-1 & BM 3396-98, 3400-3404

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
66.	A	1	MD	5.48	160.	D	7	MD	5.54
67.	A	1	MD	5.57	161.	D	7	MD	5.64
68.	A	1	MD	5.65	162.	D	7	MD	5.50
69.	A	1	MD	5.57	163.	D	7	MD	5.62
70.	A	1	MD	5.54	164.	D	7	MD	5.64
71.	A	1	MD	5.62	165.	D	7	MD	5.52
72.	A	1	MD	5.45	166.	D	7	MD	5.45

THE WICKHAM MARKET HOARD

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
73.	A	1	MD	5.52	167.	D	7	MD	5.52
74.	A	1	MD	5.61	168.	D	7	MD	5.62
75.	A	1	MD	5.58	169.	D	7	MD	5.63
76.	A	1	MD	5.55	170.	D	7	MD	5.49
77.	A	1	MD	5.53	171.	D	7	MD	5.63
78.	A	1	MD	5.75	172.	D	7	MD	5.62
79.	A	1	MD	4.34	173.	D	7	MD	5.76
80.	A	1	MD	5.65	174.	D	7	MD	5.39
81.	A	1	MD	5.74	175.	D	7	MD	5.60
82.	A	1	MD	5.52	176.	D	7	EX SF 1001	5.50
83.	A	1	MD	5.43	177.	D	7	EX SF 1009	5.64
84.	A	1	MD	5.59	178.	F	7	MD	5.52
85.	A	1	MD add	5.49	179.	F	7	MD	5.63
86.	A	2	MD	5.64	180.	F	7	MD	4.93
87.	A	2	MD	5.57	181.	F	7	MD	5.59
88.	A	2	MD	5.65	182.	F	7	MD	5.50
89.	A	2	MD	5.70	183.	F	7	MD	5.54
90.	A	2	MD	5.60	184.	F	7	MD	5.61
91.	A	3	MD	5.57	185.	F	7	MD	5.53
92.	A	3	MD	5.61	186.	F	7	MD	5.48
93.	A	3	MD	5.60	187.	F	7	MD	5.53
94.	A	4	MD	5.64	188.	F	7	MD	5.42
95.	A	4	MD	5.56	189.	F	7	MD (KL)	5.57
96.	A	4	MD	5.58	190.	F	7	EX SF 1022	5.59
97.	A	4	MD	5.62	191.	G	7	MD	5.66
98.	A	4	MD	5.63	192.	G	7	MD	5.59
99.	A	4	MD	5.54	193.	G	7	MD	5.65
100.	A	4	MD	5.62	194.	G	7	MD	5.60
101.	A	4	MD	5.57	195.	G	7	MD	5.58
102.	A	4	MD	5.69	196.	G	7	MD	5.64
103.	A	4	MD	5.29	197.	G	7	MD	5.57
104.	A	4	MD	5.60	198.	G	7	MD	5.65
105.	A	4	MD	5.61	199.	G	7	EX SF 1018	5.33
106.	A	4	MD	5.38	200.	E	8	MD	5.61
107.	A	4	MD	5.58	201.	E	8	MD	5.43
108.	A	4	MD	5.67	202.	E	8	MD	5.54
109.	A	4	MD	5.60	203.	E	8	MD	5.38
110.	A	4	MD	5.63	204.	E	9	MD	5.50
111.	A	4	MD	5.56	205.	E	9	MD	5.52
112.	A	4	MD	5.39	206.	E	9	MD	5.52
113.	A	4	MD	5.53	207.	E	9	MD	5.56
114.	A	4	MD	5.45	208.	E	9	MD	5.40
115.	A	4	MD	5.50	209.	E	9	MD	5.61
116.	A	4	MD	5.68	210.	E	9	MD	5.34
117.	A	4	MD	5.66	211.	E	9	MD	5.62
118.	A	4	MD	5.72	212.	E	9	MD	5.55
119.	A	4	MD	5.52	213.	E	9	MD	5.44
120.	A	4	EX SF 1005	5.59	214.	E	9	MD	5.42
121.	A	4	EX SF 1019	5.66	215.	E	9	MD	5.54
122.	B	5	MD	5.48	216.	E	9	MD	5.57
123.	B	5	MD	5.65	217.	E	9	MD	5.62
124.	B	5	MD	5.33	218.	E	9	MD	5.59
125.	B	5	MD	5.57	219.	E	9	MD	5.64
126.	B	5	MD	5.58	220.	E	9	MD	5.61
127.	B	5	MD	5.57	221.	E	9	MD	5.56
128.	B	5	MD	5.71	222.	E	9	MD	5.55
129.	B	5	MD	5.55	223.	E	9	MD	5.58
130.	B	5	MD	5.68	224.	E	9	MD	5.48
131.	B	5	MD	5.60	225.	E	9	MD	5.72
132.	B	5	MD	5.67	226.	E	9	MD	5.22
133.	B	5	MD	5.53	227.	E	9	MD	5.71
134.	B	5	MD	5.58	228.	E	9	MD	5.54
135.	B	5	MD	5.49	229.	E	9	MD	5.58
136.	B	5	MD	5.61	230.	E	9	MD	5.46

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
137.	B	5	MD	5.54	231.	E	9	MD	5.52
138.	B	5	MD	5.59	232.	E	9	MD	5.36
139.	B	5	EX add	5.69	233.	E	9	EX SF 1033	5.52
140.	B	5	MD	5.41	234.	E	10	MD	5.60
141.	C	7	MD	5.48	235.	E	10	MD	5.54
142.	C	7	MD	5.62	236.	E	10	MD	5.46
143.	C	7	MD	5.64	237.	E	10	MD	5.55
144.	C	7	MD	5.55	238.	E	10	MD	5.52
145.	C	7	MD	5.63	239.	E	10	MD	5.52
146.	C	7	MD	5.75	240.	E	10	MD	5.61
147.	C	7	MD	5.66	241.	E	10	MD	5.44
148.	D	7	MD	5.37	242.	E	10	MD	5.56
149.	D	7	MD	5.57	243.	E	10	MD	5.57
150.	D	7	MD	5.49	244.	E	10	MD	5.67
151.	D	7	MD	5.56	245.	E	10	MD	5.78
152.	D	7	MD	5.55	246.	E	10	MD	5.50
153.	D	7	MD	5.43	247.	E	10	MD	5.54
154.	D	7	MD	5.38	248.	E	10	MD	5.59
155.	D	7	MD	5.67	249.	E	10	MD	5.59
156.	D	7	MD	5.58	250.	E	10	MD	5.52
157.	D	7	MD	5.62	251.	E	10	EX SF 1011	5.57
158.	D	7	MD	5.64	252.	E	10	EX add	5.58
159.	D	7	MD	5.55	253.	E	11	MD	5.50

**EBH (221), Group I dies cf. V626–4, 626–7 and BM 3405, 3410–3419;
Group II dies cf. V626–9, 626–12 and BM 3406–3409**

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
254.	A	1	MD	5.46	365.	A	6	MD	5.29
255.	A	1	MD	5.49	366.	A	6	MD	5.32
256.	A	1	MD	5.58	367.	A	7	MD	5.57
257.	A	1	MD	5.42	368.	A	7	MD	5.31
258.	A	1	MD	5.58	369.	A	7	MD	5.47
259.	A	1	MD	5.48	370.	A	7	MD	5.66
260.	A	1	MD	5.41	371.	A	7	MD	5.51
261.	A	1	MD	5.55	372.	A	8	MD	5.46
262.	A	1	MD	5.53	373.	A	8	MD	5.69
263.	A	1	MD	5.52	374.	A	8	MD	5.41
264.	A	1	MD	5.34	375.	A	8	MD	5.61
265.	A	1	MD	5.47	376.	A	8	MD	5.57
266.	A	1	MD	5.53	377.	A	8	MD	4.20
267.	A	1	MD	5.53	378.	A	8	MD	5.67
268.	A	1	MD	5.51	379.	A	8	MD	5.44
269.	A	1	MD	5.54	380.	A	8	MD	5.36
270.	A	1	EX add	5.56	381.	A	8	MD	5.60
271.	A	2	MD	5.42	382.	A	8	MD	5.36
272.	A	2	MD	5.38	383.	A	8	MD	5.58
273.	A	2	MD	5.54	384.	A	8	MD	5.51
274.	A	2	MD	5.48	385.	A	8	MD	5.54
275.	A	2	MD	5.45	386.	A	8	MD	5.59
276.	A	2	MD	5.50	387.	A	8	MD	5.39
277.	A	2	MD	5.40	388.	A	8	MD	5.44
278.	A	2	MD	5.54	389.	A	8	MD	5.45
279.	A	2	MD	5.46	390.	A	8	MD	5.60
280.	A	2	MD	5.43	391.	A	8	MD	5.60
281.	A	2	MD	5.47	392.	B	9	MD	5.39
282.	A	2	EX SF 1036	5.48	393.	B	9	MD	5.40
283.	A	3	MD	5.56	394.	B	9	MD	5.67
284.	A	3	MD	5.43	395.	B	9	MD	5.45
285.	A	3	MD	5.50	396.	B	9	MD	5.28
286.	A	3	MD	5.63	397.	B	9	MD	5.25
287.	A	3	MD	5.38	398.	B	9	MD	5.31
288.	A	3	MD	5.48	399.	B	9	MD	5.42

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No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
289.	A	3	MD	5.60	400.	B	9	MD	5.48
290.	A	3	MD	5.61	401.	B	9	MD	5.37
291.	A	3	MD	5.51	402.	B	9	MD	5.44
292.	A	3	MD	5.42	403.	B	9	MD	5.50
293.	A	3	MD	5.49	404.	B	9	MD	5.59
294.	A	3	MD	5.14	405.	B	9	EX SF 1008	5.45
295.	A	3	MD	5.44	406.	B	10	MD	5.50
296.	A	3	MD	5.41	407.	B	10	MD	5.46
297.	A	3	MD	5.49	408.	B	10	MD	5.47
298.	A	3	MD	5.49	409.	B	10	MD	5.44
299.	A	3	EX SF 1042	5.49	410.	B	11	MD	5.41
300.	A	4	MD	4.98	411.	B	11	MD	5.49
301.	A	4	MD	5.38	412.	B	11	MD	5.40
302.	A	4	MD	4.65	413.	B	11	MD	5.19
303.	A	4	MD	4.68	414.	B	11	MD	5.33
304.	A	4	MD	5.07	415.	B	11	MD	5.53
305.	A	4	MD	4.93	416.	B	11	MD	5.42
306.	A	4	MD	4.79	417.	B	11	MD	5.13
307.	A	4	MD	5.47	418.	B	11	MD	5.36
308.	A	4	MD	5.39	419.	B	11	MD	5.42
309.	A	4	MD	5.58	420.	B	11	MD	5.23
310.	A	4	MD	5.56	421.	B	11	MD	5.39
311.	A	4	MD	5.58	422.	B	11	MD	5.53
312.	A	4	MD	5.49	423.	B	12	MD	5.32
313.	A	4	MD	5.21	424.	B	12	MD	5.42
314.	A	4	MD	5.39	425.	B	12	MD	5.45
315.	A	4	MD	5.55	426.	B	12	MD	5.49
316.	A	4	MD	5.54	427.	B	12	MD	5.28
317.	A	4	MD	5.57	428.	B	12	MD	5.61
318.	A	4	MD	5.53	429.	B	12	MD	5.36
319.	A	4	MD	5.28	430.	B	12	MD	5.58
320.	A	4	MD	5.49	431.	B	12	MD	5.33
321.	A	4	MD	5.27	432.	B	12	MD	5.29
322.	A	4	MD	5.46	433.	B	12	MD	5.45
323.	A	4	MD	5.48	434.	B	12	MD	5.56
324.	A	4	MD	4.96	435.	B	12	MD	5.47
325.	A	4	MD	5.51	436.	B	12	MD	5.51
326.	A	4	MD	5.43	437.	B	12	MD	5.52
327.	A	4	EX SF 1007	5.50	438.	B	12	MD	5.58
328.	A	4	EX SF 1016	5.44	439.	B	12	MD	5.54
329.	A	5	MD	5.45	440.	B	12	MD	5.44
330.	A	5	MD	5.23	441.	B	12	MD (KL)	5.42
331.	A	5	MD	5.48	442.	B	12	EX add	5.45
332.	A	5	MD	5.46	443.	B	12	EX add	5.49
333.	A	5	MD	5.52	444.	B	12	EX add	5.53
334.	A	5	MD	5.55	445.	B	13	MD	5.46
335.	A	5	MD	5.49	446.	B	13	MD	5.36
336.	A	5	MD	5.52	447.	B	13	MD	5.49
337.	A	5	MD	5.53	448.	B	13	MD	5.35
338.	A	5	MD	5.46	449.	B	13	MD	5.44
339.	A	5	MD	5.55	450.	B	13	EX SF 1012	5.47
340.	A	5	MD	5.28	451.	B	14	MD	5.49
341.	A	5	MD	5.59	452.	B	14	MD	5.48
342.	A	5	MD	5.50	453.	B	14	MD	5.41
343.	A	5	MD	5.52	454.	B	14	MD	5.48
344.	A	5	MD	5.58	455.	B	14	MD	5.53
345.	A	5	MD	5.36	456.	B	14	MD	5.46
346.	A	5	MD	5.45	457.	B	14	MD	5.51
347.	A	5	MD	5.43	458.	B	14	MD	5.49
348.	A	5	MD	5.45	459.	B	14	MD	5.49
349.	A	5	MD	5.40	460.	B	14	MD	5.42
350.	A	5	MD	5.50	461.	B	14	MD	5.48
351.	A	5	MD	5.48	462.	B	14	MD	5.50
352.	A	5	MD	5.38	463.	B	14	MD	5.43

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
353.	A	5	MD	5.43	464.	B	14	MD	5.42
354.	A	5	MD	5.51	465.	B	14	MD	5.39
355.	A	5	MD	5.57	466.	B	14	MD	5.32
356.	A	5	MD	5.43	467.	B	14	MD	5.55
357.	A	5	MD	5.41	468.	B	14	MD	5.40
358.	A	5	MD	5.49	469.	B	14	MD	5.58
359.	A	5	MD	5.35	470.	B	14	EX SF 1029	5.35
360.	A	6	MD	5.30	471.	B	14	EX SF 1031	5.30
361.	A	6	MD	5.41	472.	B	14	EX SF 1040	5.43
362.	A	6	MD	5.42	473.	C	14	MD	5.50
363.	A	6	MD	5.44	474.	D	14	MD	5.47
364.	A	6	MD	5.32					

BHB (366), Group I dies cf. V620–7, 620–9 and BM 3386–89, Group II dies cf. V620–1 and BM 3384

475.	A	1	MD	5.51	658.	J	10	MD	5.44
476.	A	1	MD	5.48	659.	J	10	MD	5.43
477.	A	1	MD	5.49	660.	J	10	MD	5.44
478.	A	1	MD	5.41	661.	J	10	MD	5.37
479.	A	1	MD	5.53	662.	J	10	MD	5.41
480.	A	1	MD	5.54	663.	J	10	MD	5.33
481.	A	1	EX SF 1043	5.41	664.	J	10	MD	5.42
482.	A	2	MD	5.52	665.	J	10	MD	5.40
483.	A	2	MD	5.37	666.	J	10	MD	5.46
484.	A	2	MD	5.48	667.	J	10	MD	5.43
485.	A	2	MD	5.38	668.	J	10	MD	5.40
486.	A	2	MD	5.52	669.	J	10	MD	5.34
487.	A	2	MD	5.45	670.	J	10	MD	5.43
488.	A	2	MD	5.45	671.	J	10	MD	5.39
489.	A	2	MD	5.52	672.	J	10	MD	5.38
490.	A	2	MD	5.54	673.	J	10	MD	5.36
491.	A	2	MD	5.33	674.	J	10	MD	5.55
492.	A	2	MD	5.47	675.	J	10	MD	5.50
493.	A	2	MD	5.36	676.	J	10	MD	5.48
494.	A	2	EX SF 1032	5.47	677.	J	10	MD	5.48
495.	A	3	MD	5.52	678.	J	10	MD	5.36
496.	A	3	MD	5.41	679.	J	10	MD	5.34
497.	A	3	MD	5.45	680.	J	10	MD	5.42
498.	A	3	MD	5.38	681.	J	10	MD	5.37
499.	A	3	MD	5.31	682.	J	10	MD	5.44
500.	A	3	MD	5.28	683.	J	10	MD	5.43
501.	A	3	EX SF 1004	5.23	684.	J	10	MD	5.42
502.	B	3	MD	5.52	685.	J	10	MD	5.42
503.	B	3	MD	5.48	686.	J	10	MD	5.47
504.	B	3	MD	5.53	687.	J	10	MD	5.42
505.	B	3	MD	5.41	688.	J	10	MD	5.39
506.	B	3	MD	4.85	689.	J	10	MD	5.44
507.	B	3	MD	5.53	690.	J	10	MD	5.44
508.	B	3	MD	5.44	691.	J	10	MD	5.40
509.	B	3	MD	5.44	692.	J	10	MD	5.47
510.	B	3	MD	5.40	693.	J	10	MD	5.55
511.	B	3	MD	5.50	694.	J	10	MD	5.40
512.	B	3	MD	5.44	695.	J	10	MD	5.44
513.	B	4	MD	5.40	696.	J	10	MD	5.41
514.	B	4	MD	5.41	697.	J	10	MD	5.49
515.	C	3	MD	5.37	698.	J	10	MD	5.33
516.	C	3	MD	5.36	699.	J	10	MD	5.36
517.	C	3	MD	5.43	700.	J	10	MD	5.38
518.	C	3	MD	5.45	701.	J	10	MD	5.48
519.	C	3	MD	5.38	702.	J	10	MD	5.42
520.	C	4	MD	5.50	703.	J	10	MD	5.43
521.	C	4	MD	5.49	704.	J	10	MD	5.40
522.	C	4	MD	5.34	705.	J	10	MD	5.35

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No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
523.	C	4	MD	5.37	706.	J	10	MD	5.47
524.	C	5	MD	5.39	707.	J	10	MD	5.43
525.	C	5	MD	5.25	708.	J	10	MD	5.39
526.	C	6	MD	5.34	709.	J	10	MD	5.51
527.	C	6	MD	5.31	710.	J	10	MD	5.47
528.	C	6	MD	5.33	711.	J	10	MD	5.52
529.	C	6	MD	5.46	712.	J	10	MD	5.41
530.	C	6	MD	5.46	713.	J	10	MD	5.28
531.	C	6	MD	5.34	714.	J	10	MD	5.34
532.	C	6	MD	5.26	715.	J	10	MD	5.34
533.	C	6	MD	5.39	716.	J	10	MD	5.41
534.	C	6	MD	5.16	717.	J	10	MD	5.41
535.	C	6	MD	5.50	718.	J	10	MD	5.45
536.	C	6	MD	5.49	719.	J	10	MD	5.41
537.	C	6	MD	5.35	720.	J	10	MD	5.45
538.	C	6	MD	5.41	721.	J	10	MD	5.37
539.	C	6	MD	5.22	722.	J	10	MD	5.43
540.	C	6	MD	5.42	723.	J	10	MD	5.51
541.	C	6	MD	4.39	724.	J	10	MD	5.40
542.	D	6	MD	5.39	725.	J	10	MD	5.42
543.	D	6	MD	5.30	726.	J	10	MD	5.49
544.	D	6	MD	5.38	727.	J	10	MD	5.43
545.	D	6	MD	5.54	728.	J	10	MD (KL)	5.46
546.	D	6	MD	5.45	729.	J	10	EX SF 1021	5.42
547.	D	6	MD	5.46	730.	J	10	EX SF 1026	5.42
548.	D	6	MD	5.50	731.	J	10	EX SF 1027	5.45
549.	D	6	MD	5.44	732.	J	10	EX SF 1034	5.39
550.	D	6	MD	5.35	733.	J	10	EX SF 1038	5.38
551.	D	6	MD	5.51	734.	J	10	EX add	5.47
552.	D	6	MD	5.45	735.	L	10	MD	5.26
553.	D	6	MD	5.39	736.	L	10	MD	5.32
554.	D	6	EX SF 1006	5.48	737.	L	10	MD	5.40
555.	D	6	EX SF 1014	5.35	738.	L	10	MD	5.39
556.	D	7	MD	5.38	739.	L	10	MD	5.35
557.	D	7	MD	5.51	740.	L	10	MD	5.42
558.	D	7	MD	5.38	741.	L	10	MD	5.38
559.	D	7	MD	5.35	742.	L	10	MD	5.33
560.	D	7	MD	5.32	743.	L	10	MD	5.36
561.	D	7	MD	5.47	744.	L	10	MD	5.37
562.	D	7	MD	5.40	745.	L	10	MD	5.29
563.	D	7	MD	5.43	746.	L	10	MD	5.47
564.	D	7	MD	5.43	747.	L	10	MD	5.42
565.	D	7	MD	5.44	748.	L	10	MD	5.34
566.	D	7	MD	5.42	749.	L	10	MD	5.40
567.	D	7	MD	5.47	750.	L	10	MD	5.41
568.	D	7	MD	5.36	751.	L	10	MD	5.40
569.	D	7	MD	5.28	752.	L	10	MD	5.33
570.	D	7	MD	5.34	753.	L	10	MD	5.34
571.	D	7	MD	5.33	754.	L	10	MD	5.47
572.	D	7	EX SF 1044	5.40	755.	L	10	MD	5.33
573.	D	7	EX SF 1030	5.43	756.	L	10	MD	5.40
574.	E	6	MD	5.41	757.	L	10	MD	5.43
575.	E	6	MD	5.47	758.	L	10	MD	5.31
576.	F	7	MD	5.45	759.	L	10	MD	5.38
577.	F	7	MD	5.41	760.	L	10	EX SF 1028	5.36
578.	F	7	MD	5.40	761.	L	10	EX add	5.36
579.	F	7	MD	4.99	762.	L	11	MD	5.24
580.	F	8	MD	5.40	763.	L	11	MD	5.41
581.	F	8	MD	5.33	764.	L	11	MD	5.45
582.	F	8	MD	5.40	765.	L	11	MD	5.30
583.	F	8	MD	5.28	766.	L	11	MD	5.41
584.	F	8	MD	5.53	767.	L	11	MD	5.36
585.	F	8	MD	5.41	768.	L	11	MD	5.37
586.	F	8	MD	5.40	769.	L	11	MD	5.26

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No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
587.	F	8	MD	5.41	770.	L	11	MD	5.42
588.	F	8	MD	5.34	771.	L	11	MD	5.40
589.	F	8	MD	5.46	772.	L	11	MD	5.40
590.	F	8	MD	5.34	773.	L	11	MD	5.40
591.	F	8	MD	5.27	774.	L	11	MD	5.41
592.	F	8	MD	4.46(b)	775.	L	11	MD	5.32
593.	F	8	EX add	5.33	776.	L	11	MD	5.46
594.	F	9	MD	5.30	777.	L	11	MD	5.45
595.	F	9	MD	5.39	778.	L	11	MD	5.36
596.	F	9	MD	5.55	779.	L	11	MD	5.33
597.	F	9	MD	5.45	780.	L	11	MD	5.41
598.	F	9	EX SF 1037	5.58	781.	L	11	MD	5.37
599.	F	10	MD	5.43	782.	L	11	MD	5.37
600.	F	10	MD	5.44	783.	L	11	MD	5.48
601.	F	10	MD	5.49	784.	L	11	MD	5.34
602.	G	8	MD	5.37	785.	L	11	MD	5.31
603.	G	8	MD	5.40	786.	L	11	MD	5.41
604.	G	8	MD	5.52	787.	L	11	EX SF 1017	5.43
605.	G	8	MD	5.36	788.	L	12	MD	5.43
606.	H	8	MD	5.44	789.	L	12	MD	5.36
607.	H	8	MD	5.41	790.	L	12	MD	5.42
608.	H	8	MD	5.29	791.	L	12	MD	5.39
609.	H	8	MD	5.39	792.	L	12	MD	5.32
610.	H	8	MD	5.40	793.	L	12	MD	5.40
611.	H	8	MD	5.43	794.	L	12	MD	5.37
612.	H	8	MD	5.26	795.	L	12	MD	5.44
613.	H	8	MD	5.41	796.	L	12	MD	5.41
614.	H	8	EX SF 1013	5.48	797.	L	12	MD	5.38
615.	H	8	MD add	5.29	798.	L	12	MD	5.34
616.	H	9	MD	5.35	799.	L	12	MD	5.38
617.	H	9	MD	5.46	800.	L	12	MD	5.36
618.	H	9	MD	5.32	801.	L	12	MD	5.06
619.	H	10	MD	5.51	802.	L	12	MD	5.48
620.	H	10	MD	5.43	803.	L	12	MD	5.42
621.	H	10	MD	5.25	804.	L	12	MD	5.45
622.	H	10	MD	5.49	805.	L	12	MD	5.29
623.	H	10	MD	5.39	806.	L	12	MD	5.32
624.	H	10	MD	5.51	807.	L	12	MD	5.38
625.	H	10	MD	5.33	808.	L	12	MD	5.39
626.	H	10	EX SF 1015	5.47	809.	L	12	EX SF 1041	5.41
627.	K	10	MD	5.38	810.	M	13	MD	5.38
628.	K	10	MD	5.41	811.	M	13	MD	5.34
629.	J	10	MD	5.40	812.	M	13	MD	5.42
630.	J	10	MD	5.42	813.	M	13	MD	5.36
631.	J	10	MD	5.40	814.	M	13	MD	5.36
632.	J	10	MD	5.52	815.	M	13	MD	5.40
633.	J	10	MD	5.35	816.	M	13	MD	5.40
634.	J	10	MD	5.44	817.	M	13	MD	5.32
635.	J	10	MD	5.39	818.	M	13	MD	5.42
636.	J	10	MD	5.32	819.	M	13	MD	5.45
637.	J	10	MD	5.47	820.	M	13	MD	5.27
638.	J	10	MD	5.52	821.	M	13	MD	5.38
639.	J	10	MD	5.38	822.	M	13	MD	5.31
640.	J	10	MD	5.48	823.	M	13	MD	5.29
641.	J	10	MD	5.49	824.	M	13	MD	5.39
642.	J	10	MD	5.38	825.	M	13	MD	5.45
643.	J	10	MD	5.38	826.	M	13	MD	5.37
644.	J	10	MD	5.41	827.	M	13	MD	5.43
645.	J	10	MD	5.45	828.	M	13	MD	5.38
646.	J	10	MD	5.40	829.	M	13	MD	5.39
647.	J	10	MD	5.44	830.	M	13	MD	5.42
648.	J	10	MD	5.43	831.	M	13	MD	5.20
649.	J	10	MD	5.40	832.	M	13	MD	5.39
650.	J	10	MD	5.25	833.	M	13	MD	5.42

No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight	No.	OD	RD	Discovery	Weight
651.	J	10	MD	5.41	834.	M	13	MD	5.40
652.	J	10	MD	5.44	835.	M	13	MD	5.42
653.	J	10	MD	5.46	836.	M	13	EX SF 1023	5.27
654.	J	10	MD	5.40	837.	M	13	EX SF 1025	5.35
655.	J	10	MD	5.40	838.	N	13	EX add	5.43
656.	J	10	MD	5.45	839.	P	13	MD	5.34
657.	J	10	MD	5.50	840.	P	13	MD	5.43

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON PRODUCING COMPOSITE IMAGES

The technique used to produce the composite images evolved from using a computer graphics program to resize digital images and overlay them to establish whether they were from the same die. In Adobe Photoshop, this is achieved by pasting the second image onto the same canvas as the first image. The upper image can be faded (using the 'opacity' function) until the underlying image can be seen. The upper image can then be rotated and resized as necessary. When the coins appear to be from the same die and are aligned one over the other, the upper image should be returned to an opacity of 100%. The 'background eraser' tool can then be used to cut through the solid upper image to ensure that there is exact overlay on the lower image at key points. The 'eraser' tool becomes an essential part of the production of composite images where many images can gradually be overlain, with periodic consolation of intermediate stages.

A few further comments on the technique may be helpful to anyone using it for the first time:

- i) photographs of Celtic coins often incorporate an element of distortion as the original coin is usually more or less dished. This was not a problem in respect of the staters in the Wickham Market hoard as the dishing is modest. It can however be more problematic on some deeply dished silver units, and may make it impossible to key overlaying images exactly at the extremities of the image.
- ii) where dies were used until they were worn out it is very valuable for identification purposes to produce a series of images showing the die at different stages of wear.
- iii) scale is always a problem with digital images from different sources. The graphics programs make resizing relatively easy, but when taking photographs to use in this process the inclusion of a centimetre scale alongside the coin will make things much easier.

APPENDIX 3. THE CONTAINER

J. PLOUVIEZ

The complete base and twenty-three sherds, almost certainly from a single vessel, were recovered by the finders along with the gold coins. It proved possible to join fourteen of the sherds to the base to give about 70% of the lower half of a jar and to draw a profile of the vessel up to the widest point of the body.

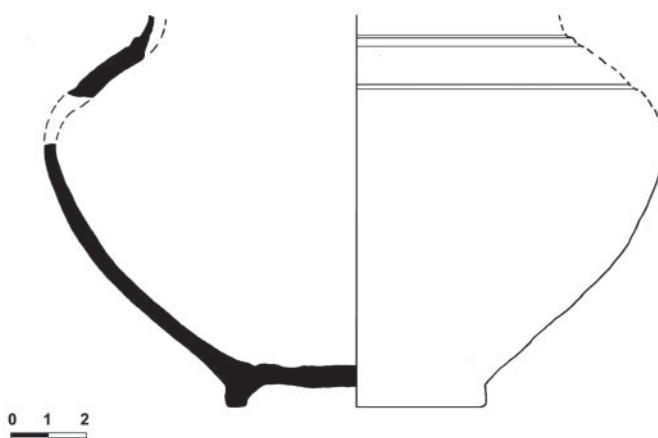


Fig. 1. Profile of the container of the Wickham Market hoard.

The fabric (examined in the hand with a $\times 10$ lens at a fresh break) is dark grey and hard, with a narrow band oxidised to a red-brown on the inside below a consistently dark brown-grey internal surface. The external surface varies in broad patches from a light red-brown to dark brown-grey, probably indicating bonfire firing, with the

darker shades predominant. It contains frequent quartz sand grains and fine dark specks, possibly grog or natural clay pellets. The fracture section is rough and irregular.

The vessel is wheel-thrown. The form is a jar or wide-mouthed bowl. The base, 62 mm in diameter, has been turned to give a small footing. The walls thin at the widest part of the vessel and it probably fractured here first; very little of the upper half was recovered. However three sherds indicate a strong curve at the mid-girth, with an incised horizontal groove above. Another single small sherd indicates a plain band with double groove cordon above and the turn into the neck of the jar – these pieces have been used for the reconstructed version of the drawing, but the exact dimensions and organisation of the upper half remain conjectural as the reconstructed joins in the profile could prove entirely wrong.

The exterior surface is not in very good condition, probably suffering from chemical damage in the soil. It was certainly smoothed and possibly burnished on the lower part with a plain zone around the widest girth area.

Although some of the breaks were fresh, or fairly so, many were not. The evidence suggests that the pot may have been crushed and then dragged by ploughing, removing all of the rim and most of the upper part of the jar and spreading the contents. Fortunately however the base survived with the greater number of coins in or near to it, allowing the precise burial spot to be pinpointed.

Both fabric and form are similar to late Iron Age material elsewhere in south-east Suffolk, particularly at Burgh.¹⁶ The form is a rounded version of the double cordon jar Cam 218 (generally similar to Cam 218A, the earliest variant and definitely pre-AD 43); this is group H at Burgh where it mainly occurs in the stratigraphically later group dated to about AD 25–50.

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Website and other resources:

CCI (Celtic Coin Index), Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford and online at www.finds.org.uk/CCI.

¹⁶ Martin 1988.

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**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

THE BIGA GOLD OF CUNOBELINUS

RAINER KRETZ

Introduction

THE coinage of Cunobelinus is perhaps the largest and most diverse of all ancient British coinages. It commands a special position amongst contemporary coinages by virtue of its exceptionally wide range of themes and styles, ranging from the thoroughly traditional through to the overtly classical. The gold issues in particular are highly coveted for their strikingly attractive designs. One of the most iconic images to come down to us from Britain's Iron Age past must surely be the famous 'corn ear' emblem, which forms the standard obverse design of more than 90% of Cunobelinus's recorded output in gold.¹ However, the series which to many numismatists constitutes the most attractive and highly prized of all of Cunobelinus's gold issues is the only one lacking the ubiquitous ear of corn – the 'biga' type. This comparatively rare type is also the only British Celtic gold issue to show a representation of a biga or two-horse chariot on its reverse, the chariot here represented by a single wheel.

When Derek Allen published 'Cunobelin's gold' in 1975, just eight biga staters and three quarter staters had been recorded. Since then the growth of metal detecting has seen a substantial rise in the number of recorded coins, thus enabling this study to comprise a total of fifty-eight staters (including one bronze core) and thirty-six quarter staters. Although the biga staters have recently been studied in some detail,² the matching quarter staters have not been accorded the same degree of attention and no detailed examination of the series as a whole has ever been published. I therefore believe the time has now come to rectify this omission. In the process I have taken due account of de Jersey's earlier conclusions on the subject, which have in turn led me to retain his suggested obverse die sequence for the stater series.

The aim of this study is thus to provide a new classification for both staters and quarter staters, reflecting the evolution of both obverse and reverse dies over the duration of the coinage. It will provide a key to the classification of the various types and their variants, examine the relationship between the different denominations, consider the metrology and bring the distribution chart up to date. Finally, it will discuss the timing of Cunobelinus's Trinovantian accession and the closely-linked striking of the biga series against the background of the dramatic events leading up to Tasciovanos's death.

Earlier work

In his 1864 work *The coins of the ancient Britons*, Evans traced the origin of the biga series back to the staters of Philip II of Macedon, drawing attention to the traces of Apollo's wreath on the obverse, a design feature shared with the RICON staters of Cunobelinus's father Tasciovanos (V1780/1786).³ He concluded that for these reasons the coins 'must be regarded as the earliest productions of the mint of Cunobeline [sic]'. Just four biga staters were known at that time, and the quarter stater was yet to be discovered. More than a century later, when

Acknowledgements. I am most grateful to Dr Philip de Jersey for his support and encouragement throughout this study and to Martin Bridgewater for information on coins in his collection. I also wish to thank the Oxford Celtic Coin Index and Chris Rudd, who between them provided the bulk of the photographic images used in this article, and for additional material the Chelmsford Museum Service, Dix, Noonan and Webb, the Classical Numismatic Group, and Mike Vosper.

¹ de Jersey 2000, 2.

² de Jersey 2000; de Jersey and Wickenden 2004.

³ Evans 1864, 296–7.

Allen published his landmark paper,⁴ he too had no doubts about the primacy of the biga series, and followed Evans in basing this on the stylistic similarities of the obverse to that of Tasciovanos's RICON series.

Van Arsdell, whilst accepting Allen's overall classification, was the first to differentiate between two types of biga stater – V1910–1 and 1910–2 – based on the presence or absence of pellets below the leaf and the horse's tail on the reverse.⁵ More recently de Jersey has updated Allen's original work on the biga series, presenting new die chains for both staters and quarters, based on the development of the CAMVL inscription on the obverse.⁶ The discovery of the Great Waltham hoard then enabled de Jersey and Wickenden to suggest a revised sequence for the stater.⁷

The staters

Cunobelinus's biga staters can be divided into two readily distinguishable styles, which for simplicity's sake I have termed the Early and the Late types. The Early type features obverses with more conventional legends, largely made up of clearly defined letters, and with the exception of type A1, is always accompanied by reverses showing rather stylised and usually goggle-eyed horses.

By contrast, the Late type employs legends made up of partially conjoined and often poorly defined letters, ultimately intended to form a rudimentary monogram. The largely homogenous reverses show powerful, broad-necked horses of a highly distinctive naturalistic style with the legend seemingly always in the genitive case, i.e. CVNOBELINI. The survival rates of Early types (29 examples) and Late types (28 examples) are almost identical, suggesting a similar size of production for the two series.

The less well executed obverses, as well as the more stylised reverses typified by types A2 to A5, feature a cruder and more native style of engraving, whereas types A1, B1 and B2 suggest the work of two more accomplished and quite possibly classically-trained engravers.

A. Early type



Fig. 1. Class A1 types. All coins are illustrated at approximately twice actual size.

A1	Obv.	cruciform design with heart-shaped faces at 1 and 7 o'clock, V-shaped ornaments at 11 and 5 o'clock, panel border made up of tiny pellets, conventional and neatly executed CAMVL legend.
	Rev.	finely engraved, naturalistic horses with the second horse merely hinted at, large pellet above, small pellet in front of horses' heads, lower edge of leaf wavy, legend CVNOB[...].

Var. 1 has more stylised, goggle-eyed, horses with the second horse now more in evidence, an additional pellet under the tail, the lower edge of the leaf convex, legend CVNOBELINI.

⁴ Allen 1975.

⁵ Van Arsdell 1989, 395.

⁶ de Jersey 2000.

⁷ de Jersey and Wickenden 2004.



Fig. 2. Class A2 type.

- A2 Obv. as A1, but panel border made up of larger pellets and letters now mostly leaning and less neatly engraved. This obverse is quite possibly a heavily recut A1 die.
 Rev. as A1 var. 1, but recut part way through the production of A2, legend **CVNOBELINI**.



Fig. 3. Class A3 types.

A3 (Star type)

- Obv. heart-shaped faces at 11 and 5 o'clock, panel border made up of larger pellets, small star replacing pellet in cusp of V-shaped ornaments at 1 and 7 o'clock, conventional but rather untidy **CAMVL** legend engraved on a recycled die with traces of the original engraving clearly visible.
 Rev. as A2, legend **CVNOBELINI**.

Var. 1 has a small star in centre of wheel, small pellet above horse, lower edge of leaf now straight, shortened legend **CVNOBELIN**.

Var. 2 has lower edge of leaf straight, no star in centre of wheel but a small star in front of horses' heads, legend **CVNOB [...]**. All recorded examples show a die flaw stretching from the base of the horse's neck to the pellet above.



Fig. 4. Class A4 types.

A4 (Bucranius type)

- Obv. as A3, but V-shaped ornaments now replaced by two bucrania, neat **CAMVL** legend with V and L ligate. Die later extensively recut.
 Rev. as A2, but no pellet in front of horses' muzzles and lower edge of leaf concave, legend **CVNO [...]**.

Var. 1 has a pellet below the horses' muzzles plus a small pellet under the leaf stalk.



Fig. 5. Class A5 type.

- A5 Obv. as A1 but panel bulging in centre, border made up of larger pellets, poorly engraved **CAMVL** legend with dominant **M**, the **V** and indistinct final **L** seemingly ligate.
 Rev. as A2, but lower edge of leaf concave, unclear whether there is a pellet in front of horses' muzzles, abbreviated legend **CVNOBELI**.

B. Late type

Fig. 6. Class B1 types.

- B1 Obv. as A1, but panel border now made up of plain lines. Legend **CAMVL**, with **A** lacking a cross bar and **M**, (**V**) and **L** in the form of a rudimentary monogram.
 Rev. as A1, but naturalistic horses now with broader and more powerful necks, no pellets in the field (rev. die 9), lower edge of leaf convex, legend **CVNOBELINI**.

Var. 1 has a tiny pellet above the horse and two small pellets under horse's tail (rev. die 8), legend **CVNOBELINI**.
 Var. 2 shows the horses' necks broader still. Possibly just a single pellet under the horse's tail (rev. die 10), but with only one recorded example this is subject to confirmation. Legend most probably **CVNOBELINI**.



B2

another

Fig. 7. Class B2 type.

- B2 Obv. as B1, but height of panel and size of lettering reduced.
 Rev. as B1, but more substantial, fuller bodied horses, lower edge of leaf now concave. One, or possibly two, pellets close to root of horse's tail, legend **CVNOBELINI**.

Die study

A hypothetical sequence for the development of the biga stater obverse was first suggested by de Jersey, who focused on the evolution of the **CAMVL** legend and the associated changes to the surrounding panel.⁸ Following a thorough re-examination of this series, I have concluded that his suggested obverse die sequence is likely to be correct and have therefore retained it for the purposes of this paper. However, a detailed look at the reverse dies has resulted in two amendments to de Jersey's reverse die sequence.⁹ The first of these addresses a rare mistake made by Allen in his published die chain for what was then just eight staters.¹⁰ His first two reverse dies, A and B, can now be shown to be one and the same die, with B being a recut version of A. Now that we are fortunate in having a greater number of coins available for study, it has become clear that both versions feature identical inscriptions and both commonly exhibit the same small die flaw to the left of the wheel.

The second change concerns a coin (CCI 05.0815), unknown to de Jersey, which was struck from an earlier version of obverse die D – later heavily recut – coupled with what is probably a new reverse die (no. 5). Unfortunately, critical features including the legend are missing from the flan, thus making any direct comparison with reverse die no. 7 extremely difficult. I have for now concluded that die no. 5 represents a new reverse die, whilst accepting that future discoveries may show it to be merely an earlier version of die no. 7.

The biga stater was struck from at least seven obverse and twelve reverse dies and the recorded obverse die linkages together with some stylistic clues provide us with sufficient information to establish a reasonably secure chronological order.¹¹ It is worth noting that the obverse dies of the more experimental Early type outnumber those of the Late type by more than two to one. However, out of a total of fifty-seven gold staters, almost half (twenty-eight) belong to the Late type (obverse dies F and G), suggesting that the peak in production was not reached until the latter half of the series.

As one would expect with such a small coinage, the die chain is relatively simple. Only at the start of the series are the linkages slightly more complex, perhaps reflecting a sudden burst in production as Cunobelinus took control of his new kingdom (Fig. 8).

⁸ de Jersey 2000, 2; de Jersey and Wickenden 2004, 178, fig. 2.

⁹ de Jersey and Wickenden 2004, 177.

¹⁰ Allen 1975, 6, pl. 1, nos 1 and 2.

¹¹ An Early biga stater (CCI 10.2432) originating from a new obverse die, and either a new reverse die or reverse die no. 6 in its original form, has now been identified on a Belgian website, but unfortunately too late for inclusion in this paper.

Early type					Late type		
A 1	B 2	C 3	D 5	E 7	F 8	G 9	10 11 12

Fig. 8. Die-links for the biga stater.

The evolution of the stater

As de Jersey has previously observed, the obverse of the stater starts life with a panel border made up of tiny pellets, which become gradually enlarged before eventually being replaced by solid lines.¹² The legend too is at first neatly arranged with every letter individually defined, and the letter A possessing a crossbar. As the series progresses, the quality of the lettering starts to deteriorate and the letters V and L develop a tendency to become conjoined. By the time of the Late type the letter A has lost its crossbar and the final three letters M, V and L – the V is implied – are displayed in the form of a rudimentary monogram (Fig. 9).

Whilst the first two classes (A1 and A2) exhibit only relatively minor differences, the remaining classes of the Early type (A3, A4 and A5) do not fit easily into this mould. All three are extremely rare and all exhibit odd features like added stars (A3), bucrania (A4) or an overly large and rather carelessly engraved legend (A5). It is worth noting that the Great Waltham hoard of eighteen biga staters contained coins from the beginning (die A) and end (dies F and G) of the die chain, yet no coins from the central portion. A number of possible explanations for this are offered by de Jersey, including the unknown production span, the possibility that the coins may have come from just one of several workshops or circulation pools and the fact that these classes are also very rare.¹³ Out of the total of fifty-seven staters forming part of this study, which in turn belong to seven separate classes, only ten originate from classes A3, A4 and A5. This equates to around 17.5% compared to the c.43% one might have reasonably expected, confirming that their rarity and atypical iconography set them apart from the remainder of the series.

The impression gained is that the mint was experimenting with a number of short-lived design modifications, before once again returning to basics with the more simplified yet highly effective Late type. Two of the classes mentioned above are also unusual in that one employs an apparently re-cycled obverse die (A3), while the obverse die of the other shows signs of having been extensively recut (A4). The latter example has been the subject of a previous article, where it was suggested that this particular obverse die would appear to have had a longer than average production life.¹⁴ It is tempting to think that this may have had something to do with the addition of the ancient ‘bull’s head’ motif to the iconography, but if so, one would have expected this symbol to feature on at least one, if not more, subsequent dies. Curiously however, class A4 was to remain the one and only Cunobelinus gold issue ever to feature this archaic motif, which soon afterwards fell out of favour in the North Thames region.¹⁵

It also seems odd that certain distinctive features of the earliest reverse dies, such as the heart-shaped faces at 1 and 7 o’clock, the naturalistic depiction of the horse, and the convex lower leaf edge are virtually absent from classes A3, A4 and A5, only to re-emerge once again in the Late type.¹⁶ These apparent glitches in the development of the series, when compared to the rather more gradual evolution which seems to have been a feature of Dubovellaunos’s Essex stater series,¹⁷ may point towards the whole of the biga series having been conceived and struck within a relatively short time frame, perhaps in order to stamp Cunobelinus’s authority

¹² de Jersey and Wickenden 2004, 177.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Kretz 2008a, 55–6.

¹⁵ de Jersey 2001, 5.

¹⁶ The convex lower leaf edge occurs briefly early on in class A3 itself, this particular reverse die being shared with class A2.

¹⁷ Kretz 2008b.



Fig. 9. Development of the biga stater obverse. All die reconstructions are shown at approximately twice actual size, from drawings by the author.

on the only recently acquired Trinovantian territories. Over the course of this, the brilliantly conceived and finely executed original design (class A1) underwent a period of rapid change and deteriorating quality, before eventually evolving into the beautifully crafted and artistically accomplished Late type. The classification guide illustrates the detailed steps this progressive evolution of the biga stater is thought to have taken (Table 1).

As indicated in the introduction above, the reverse is remarkable for being the only ancient British gold issue to feature the two-horse chariot, which can be traced back through Gallo-Belgic issues to the stater of Philip II of Macedon. This was clearly not a linear descent, and the sudden (re)appearance of the biga in the early first century AD is difficult to explain. One potential source for this motif are Roman Republican biga and quadriga denarii, but Chris Rudd has recently offered another explanation by tentatively linking the biga series to a Gaulish stater of Caballos Contedilos (LT 5957, DT S 2536A), struck in the Loire region around the early part of the first century BC.¹⁸ Whilst I accept that the similar crescentic form

¹⁸ Rudd 2010, 4-6.

TABLE 1. Key to the biga stater classification.

Classification criteria	Early type					Late type	
	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2
OBVERSE							
Panel							
pelleted border	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
straight line border							
Legend							
conventional	✓	✓	✓				
V and L ligate				✓	✓		
MVL as monogram						✓	✓
A with crossbar	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
A without crossbar							
Heart-shaped faces							
at 1 and 7 o'clock	✓	✓				✓	✓
at 11 and 5 o'clock			✓	✓			
Bucrania							
at 1 and 7 o'clock					✓		
Star							
In cusp of V-shaped ornament				✓			
REVERSE							
Horse							
naturalistic	✓					✓	✓
stylised	var.1	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Lower leaf edge							
convex	✓	✓				✓	✓
straight or concave			✓	var.1/2	✓	✓	
Star							
in centre of wheel				var.1			
in front of horse's muzzle				var.2?			
Pellet(s)							
large pellet above horse	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
small/tiny pellet above horse			var.1			var.1	✓
small pellet in front of heads	✓	✓	✓		?		
pellet under horse's heads				var.1			
pellet under horse's tail	var.1	✓	✓	✓	✓	var.2?	✓
two tiny pellets under tail						var.1	?
small pellet under leaf stalk				var.1			
Legend							
CVNOBELINI	var.1	✓	✓			✓	✓
CVNOBELIN			var.1				
CVNOBELI							
full legend not known	✓		var.2	✓			

of the legend is a remarkable coincidence, this is where any typological or stylistic similarities end. Furthermore, the use as a prototype of an exceedingly rare Gaulish stater struck around a hundred years earlier in distant central France would appear to be unlikely.

Alternatively, the biga design may quite simply have been a manifestation of the ancient Britons' long-standing love affair with the horse-drawn chariot. Caesar was greatly impressed by the effectiveness of chariots in battle, and the extraordinary level of skill and agility displayed by the charioteers who would 'run along the chariot pole, stand on the yoke and get back into the chariot as quick as lightning' (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 1). Although by this time largely obsolete as an instrument of war, in Britain at least it remained a major part of the native armoury and is likely that it played an equally significant role in the field of sport and

entertainment. Its depiction on Cunobelinus's gold confirms the chariot as a high status object, much in demand by the warrior elite and no doubt worthy of the king himself.

The reverse undergoes relatively little change, much of it being stylistic. At the start of the series the Early type features a pair of finely engraved naturalistic horses with a single pellet above. This rather short-lived reverse die was quickly followed by a series of six dies all featuring somewhat cruder and more heavily stylised horses. There can be little doubt that these dies are the work of a single engraver, whose abstract style is instantly recognizable. The main difference between the different reverses is the number and location of the various pellets and other small ornaments, the shape of the leaf above the horses and the legend itself, which may vary from **CVNOBELINI** to **CVNOBELIN** and **CVNOBELI**. Finally, the artistically accomplished and largely homogenous Late type, the dies of which were quite possibly also engraved by a single die-cutter, sports the typically bold and strikingly elegant horses which, in terms of their stylistic treatment are unique in the British series. All five reverse dies making up the Late type are thought to bear the legend **CVNOBELINI**.

It is a curious fact that Cunobelinus's die-cutters rarely succeeded in producing a neat **CAMVL** monogram, and then only on the quarter stater (Classes A2, B2 and B4), on an early silver unit (V1947) and on an early bronze unit (V1965). Their attempts usually consisted of some conjoined letters and were at best rather longer than necessary and occasionally confused or even blundered. Only towards the end of both series, with the Late type, do we finally get a settled arrangement for the legend. This is particularly surprising since an exceptionally neat example of this very monogram had been produced by Tasciovanos's mint (V1684 and 1694) only a decade or two earlier, examples of which are likely to have survived into Cunobelinus's reign. The reason for this perceived incompetence may be that a true monogram was considered too short and insubstantial to compliment the rest of the design. By employing a partial monogram, the die cutter could adjust the length of the inscription to suit and thus ensure that the correct proportions were being maintained.

The quarter staters

The development of the quarter stater broadly mirrors that of the stater, although the iconographical arrangement and orthographical detail may vary considerably even between closely related types. There are again two main series. The first – the Early type – is relatively rare and shows less variation, and hence was presumably of shorter duration than the corresponding stater series. By contrast, the Late type quarter stater exhibits greater variability than its stater counterpart and with twenty-two examples forms the bulk of the recorded quarter staters.

Unlike the stater, where the obverse goes through a number of developmental phases, the layout of the quarter stater obverse – except for the legend – remains constant after class A1 (Fig. 18). The reverse too remains essentially the same, and is characterized by the stylistic changes to the horses and to a lesser extent by the presence or absence of pellets. The only feature which clearly separates the Early from the Late type and is constant throughout the series, is the wheel below the horse. In the Early type this takes the form of a ringed pellet, whereas in the Late type it is shown as a four-spoked wheel.

A. Early type



Fig. 10. Class A1 type.

- A1 Obv. cruciform design with heart-shaped faces at 11 and 5 o'clock, V-shaped ornaments at 1 and 7 o'clock, panel border made up of tiny pellets, neatly engraved **CAMVL** legend with **A** (barred), **M** and **V** in monogram form, centrally placed pellet.
 Rev. naturalistic but rather stocky horses, ringed pellet below, tiny pellet under tail, lower edge of leaf convex, legend **CVNO**.



Fig. 11. Class A2 types.

- A2 Obv. as A1, but heart-shaped faces now at 1 and 7 o'clock, panel border now made up of plain lines, **CAMVL** legend with **A** (barred), **M**, **V** and **L** (the latter now leaning) in monogram form.
 Rev. more abstract, goggle-eyed horses, ringed pellet below and probably tiny pellet under the tail, lower edge of leaf slightly concave, legend **CVNO**.

Var. 1 has pellet above horse and under horse's tail, lower edge of leaf straight, legend **CVN**.

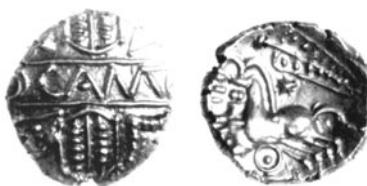


Fig. 12. Class A3 type.

- A3 (Star type)
 Obv. as A2, but blundered **CAMVL** legend with **A** (barred), **M**, **V** and **L** conjoined to form monogram, but final **L** mistakenly inverted.
 Rev. as A2 var. 1, but small star above horse, legend unknown.

It is unclear whether this type follows the corresponding A3 stater in having a small star instead of the usual pellet in the cusp of the V-shaped ornament at 11 and 5 o'clock.

B. Late type



Fig. 13. Class B1 type.

- B1 Obv. as A2, but expanded legend with **A** (barred), **M** and **V** in monogram/conjoined form, the **L** now separate.
 Rev. naturalistic horses, four-spoked wheel below, apparently no pellets in field, lower edge of leaf probably convex, legend **CVNO**.



Fig. 14. Class B2 types.

- B2 Obv. as A2
 Rev. as B1, but horses plumper and better proportioned, lower edge of leaf convex, legend CVNO.

Var. 1 has a pellet under the horse's tail. (Due to the lack of suitable images, the illustration shows a B3 reverse struck from the same die).



Fig. 15. Class B3 type.

- B3 Obv. as B2, but with confused legend reading CAIAL or CAUL, the A now unbarred.
 Rev. as B2 var. 1, with pellet under the horse's tail, legend CVNO.



Fig. 16. Class B4 types.

- B4 Obv. as A2, with central M serving as the monogram for A (unbarred), M and V, the L now separate.
 Rev. very variable, as B3 at the start but horses progressively increasing in size and bulk on later dies, lower edge of leaf convex, legend CVNO.

Var. 1 has a pellet under the horse's tail; this reverse die is shared with classes B2 var. 1 and B3.

Die study

When Derek Allen carried out his landmark study, he was able to draw on just three examples of the quarter stater.¹⁹ A greatly expanded die chain, taking account of finds in the intervening period, was published by de Jersey,²⁰ but the lack of an illustration or reference to CCI records makes it difficult to relate his proposed die order to actual examples, except in a couple of cases.

One of the problems with the construction of die chains is the difficulty in ordering dies when obverses and reverses offer relatively few clues as to their precise relationship with one another. Where this is the case one is forced to rely heavily on the stylistic evidence, which in turn is subject to personal interpretation and hence not entirely satisfactory. The biga quarter staters, for which we have just three obverse die-links, are a good case in point. Constructing a realistic die sequence on this basis would not be without its problems, but here we are fortunate in having the closely related stater series come to our rescue, where the obverse die links are concentrated at the very start of the die chain. As there is every likelihood that both quarter stater and stater evolved along broadly similar lines, it is only reasonable to assume that the two series must share similar characteristics in their respective stylistic development. This study has demonstrated that this is indeed the case and similarities in the evolution of the legend, the stylistic treatment of the horses and the remainder of the iconography are all easily identifiable. However, it is interesting to note that whilst the relationship between some stater and quarter stater types can be readily demonstrated, other types within both series do not appear to have matching equivalents – unless of course these are still awaiting discovery (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Suggested concordance between stater and quarter stater types.

type	stater		quarter stater
Early	A1	→	A1
	A2	→	A2
	A3 (star type)	→	A3 (star type)
	A4 (bucranium type)		–
	A5		–
Late	–		B1
	B1	→	B2/B3
	B2	→	B4

The quarter stater was struck from a minimum of nine obverse and ten reverse dies. Every obverse is paired with just one or two reverse dies, thus resulting in a very simple die chain. Interestingly, the overall picture here is the opposite to that presented by the stater, in that the Late type quarter stater was struck from twice the number of obverse dies (six) compared to the Early type (three). This, together with the Late type accounting for the bulk (22 out of 36) of the recorded quarter staters, would again suggest that production peaked in the second half of the series (Fig. 17).

¹⁹ The third quarter stater came to Allen's notice while his paper was in press (Allen 1975, 19), and does not form part of his discussion of the type.

²⁰ de Jersey 2000, 2.

Early type			Late type					
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Fig. 17. Die-links for the biga quarter stater.

The evolution of the quarter stater

As one would expect, the development of the quarter stater broadly follows that of the stater. However, the quarters are not simply scaled down versions of the various stater classes, but commonly exhibit differences in the arrangement of the iconography as well as the orthography, with the result that otherwise parallel developments can appear temporarily out of step. There are again two main groups, of which the first – the Early type – is considerably less varied and hence most probably of shorter duration than the corresponding stater series. By contrast, the Late type exhibits an even greater degree of variability than its stater counterpart and was evidently a long-lived and highly popular issue.

The configuration of the legend and some of the iconography associated with this series tend to be variable, and as indicated above, the only reliable indicator to separate an Early from a Late type quarter stater is the depiction of the wheel below the horse: a simple ringed pellet in the Early type and a four-spoked wheel in the Late type. There is some evidence to suggest that later classes of the Late type lose the pellets from within the wheel segments. Reverse dies nos 6 and 10, and possibly nos 7 and 8 are a case in point, whilst no. 9 clearly features pellets. However, as the dies become worn, such minute details can be easily be lost or obscured and the varying quality of the recorded images adds further to the problem. At this stage, the presence or lack of these four pellets is not considered a reliable indicator for identification purposes and for that reason they have been omitted from the individual type descriptions.

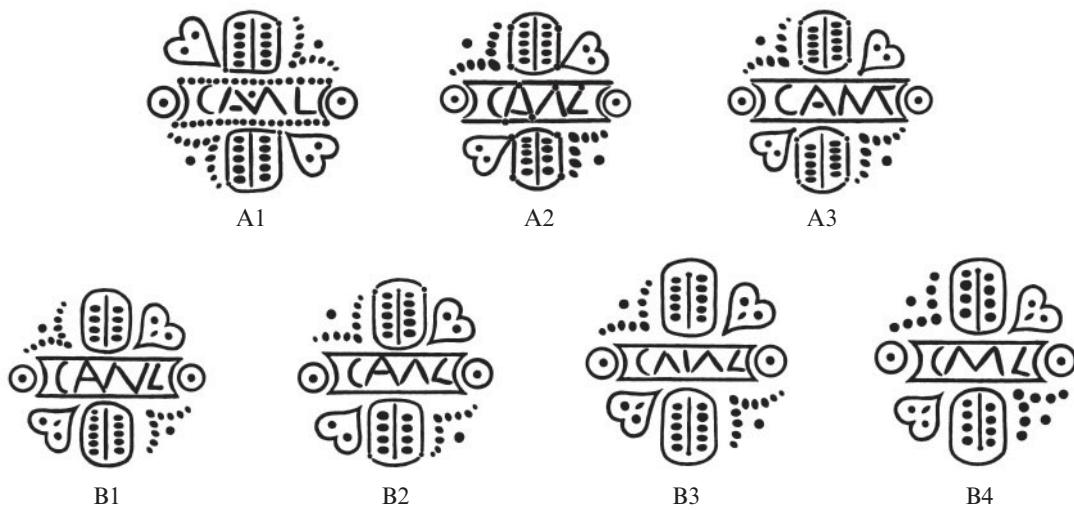


Fig. 18. Development of the biga quarter stater obverse. All die reconstructions are shown at approximately twice actual size, from drawings by the author.

Class A1 shares similar lettering and a panel border composed of tiny pellets with its stater equivalent (A1), although the legend here is already partially in monogram form. Uniquely within the biga series, the obverse panel contains a mint or die identification mark in the form of a centrally placed pellet. Thereafter the legend starts to become less tidy, with the final L

usually set at an angle. The extremely rare 'star type' (class A3) apparently features an inverted final L and hints at the problems the die-cutters were having with the orthography and the concept of conjoining certain letters in monogram form. The first class of the Late type (B1) is another case in point. Here the monogram part is unnecessarily expanded by an additional stroke before the final L. The problems continue with the badly blundered class B2, the obverse of which features the legend CAIAL or even CAML. However, by the end of the series (class B4), the question of how to correctly present the legend had finally been resolved and all four obverse dies making up this class now for the first time present a uniform appearance. The inscription CAMVL is now composed of just three letters, i.e. CML, with the front part of the M and its link to the L providing the missing A and V (Fig. 18).

The classification guide gives a detailed illustration of the course of development of the quarter stater (Table 3).

TABLE 3. Key to the biga quarter stater classification.

<i>Classification criteria</i>	<i>Early type</i>			<i>Late type</i>			
	A1	A2	A3	B1	B2	B3	
OBVERSE							
Panel							
pelleted border	✓						
straight line border		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Legend							
AMV monogram including mint mark	✓						
AMV monogram							✓
expanded AMV monogram				✓			
AMVL monogram		✓			✓		
AMVL monogram – inverted L			✓				
blundered legend – CAIAL						✓	
A with crossbar	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
A without crossbar						✓	✓
Heart-shaped faces							
at 11 and 5 o'clock	✓						
at 1 and 7 o'clock		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
REVERSE							
Horse							
naturalistic	✓						
stylised		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Wheel shown as							
pellet in ring	✓	✓	✓				
four-spoked				✓	✓	✓	✓
Lower leaf edge							
convex	✓				✓?	✓	✓
straight or concave		✓	✓			✓	✓
Star				✓			
above horse							
Pellet							
above horse							
under tail	tiny	var.1		?	var.1	✓	var.1
Legend							
CVNO	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
CVN		var.1					
legend unknown			✓				

Metallurgy

To date only two biga stater analyses have been published, showing a slight, but probably insignificant, difference in fineness.²¹ The fractionally higher gold content of CCI 82.0243 may well be related to its position at the very start of the series, but without additional analytical data we cannot be certain (Table 4).

TABLE 4. Analyses of Cunobelius's biga staters.

The letters C and N in brackets after the registration number refer to Cowell (1992) and Northover (1992) respectively. The alternative weight in brackets is that listed in the British Museum catalogue.

Class	CCI	V	BMC	registration	Au	Ag	Cu	wt, g
A2	68.0352	1910–1	1770	1919,2–13,337 (C)	40.8	19.9	38.7	5.41 (5.39)
A1	82.0243	1910 v	–	C316 (N)	45.34	16.64	37.63	5.43

According to Cowell, 'the fineness of all Cunobelius's [sic] coinage falls within a very narrow range, which does not differ from that of the normal issues of Tasciovanos'.²² He found no evidence of any differences in the alloy between the various gold issues of Cunobelius, though the issues of Tasciovanos differed in being more silver-rich. This led him to conclude that despite the similar fineness, Cunobelius's gold coinage could not have been struck directly from coins culled from his father's issues. In reality, the situation may not have been quite as clear-cut. Although taken as a whole the stater issues of Cunobelius are less silver-rich, a quick glance at the published analyses in the British Museum catalogue confirms that there are also a number of coins from both rulers where the compositions are very similar indeed. The situation is further complicated by Dubnovellaunos, who is widely regarded as Cunobelius's predecessor on the Trinovantian throne and whose stater issues share the same overall fineness and show similar fluctuations in their silver contents.

Of the two biga staters analysed, the composition of the first (CCI 68.0352) is similar to that of a number of Tasciovanos – as well as some Dubnovellaunos – staters, whilst the increased fineness of the second suggests a link to the alloy employed to strike Tasciovanos's RICON series. Although purely speculative, it may suggest that Cunobelius was given the necessary bullion for the biga series by his father, before laying claim to any Catuvellaunian gold reserves on Tasciovanos's death, and thereafter searching for new sources of gold to serve his growing needs. It seems likely that he culled at least some of his predecessor's issues in order to re-coin them. However, it is clear that he must also have obtained quantities of refined gold to produce the less silver-rich alloy seemingly used for the majority of his staters from elsewhere. In order to strike the one million staters and quarter staters Allen tentatively estimated to have been produced during his reign,²³ Cunobelius would have required over 5,400 kg of the correct alloy. Assuming that as much as half of that demand had been met by melted-down issues of Tasciovanos and Dubnovellaunos, and based on an average gold content of 41%, his fine gold requirement for the remainder would still have been in excess of 1,000 kg, the most likely source of which would probably have been Roman aurei. Although spread over a reign lasting as long as forty years, this is still a tall order (equating in value to more than £20 million today) and would in turn presumably have required sizeable British exports in the form of corn, cattle, hides, slaves, hunting dogs and the like.

As yet there are no published analyses for the quarter staters. However, whilst the biga stater series appears to have been struck from gold becoming increasingly reddish in hue, the quarter staters are thought to be more unpredictable in terms of their colour variation. A visual inspection of eight examples in a private collection showed that coins may range from yellow gold to slightly reddish and finally red gold. Curiously, the colour of individual coins does not always appear to be in line with the chronology suggested here. As we have little idea

²¹ Cowell 1992, 213; Northover 1992, 287.

²² Cowell 1992, 226.

²³ Allen 1975, 4–5.

of the factors which influenced the decision to coin in the first instance, the production process itself or the potential source of the alloy employed to strike these quarter staters, perhaps not too much should be read into this apparent discrepancy. Furthermore, with the whole of the biga series likely to have been struck within a relatively short period of time of perhaps no more than five years – and quite possibly considerably less – the commonly accepted correlation between fineness, colour and chronology may not necessarily apply here.

Interestingly, similar variations in fineness coupled with silver or copper richness can be observed amongst Tasciovanos's quarter staters, where we are fortunate in having a greater number of analyses available. Here the gold content can range from 41 to 53%, the proportion of silver from 10 to 34%, and the amount of copper from 17 to 43%, with the greatest fineness to be found at both the beginning and end of the series.²⁴ Within a single type (V1688), belonging to the very early part of Tasciovanos's quarter stater series, Northover observed silver contents ranging from 10 to 34% and copper contents from 17 to 40%, sizeable variations which in turn would be reflected in the colour of the coins themselves.²⁵ Examination of the published analyses of Tasciovanos's quarter staters suggests a greater degree of variation within their composition and an improved fineness when compared with the stater issues. The impression gained is that the two series may have been struck independently, from different batches of alloy, and may conceivably represent the product of separate workshops or mints. The perceived colour differences within the random sample of biga quarter staters suggests that their production may have taken a similar direction, but without representative analytical survey data it would be unwise to speculate further.

Metrology

As Allen pointed out, the degree of control exercised at Cunobelinus's mint must have been quite remarkable.²⁶ His study indicated that the average weight of all the staters issued over Cunobelinus's lengthy reign remained steady at 5.40 g, with a deviation of no more than 1–2%. More recently Williams has compared the weights of Allen's five classes of Cunobelinus stater, consisting of the biga type and four types of corn-ear stater – linear, wild, plastic and classic.²⁷ Based on a substantial sample of 37, 43, 72, 42 and 44 coins respectively, he established that the average weight of the biga series at 5.48 g was markedly higher than that of the four classes of corn-ear stater, all of which shared an identical average weight of 5.37 g.

The still larger sample of fifty biga staters forming part of this study has resulted in a marginally lower mean weight of 5.46 g. This shows the average weight of the biga stater to be identical to and most probably closely aligned with Tasciovanos's RICON series,²⁸ which is likely to have been struck at broadly the same time or perhaps slightly earlier. At some point prior to the production of the next series – the linear type – this weight standard was lowered by 0.09 g to 5.37g, representing a reduction of about 1.7% or one sixtieth. Once introduced, the new weight standard remained in operation at Cunobelinus's mint for the next three decades, forming the benchmark for his entire corn-ear series.

Although there are differences in weight between the various stater classes, at the widest 0.13 g (classes A4 and B1), these are comparatively very small. Other than the fact that the slightly heavier coins are found at the start of series A and B, and the most numerous classes are also the heaviest, no clear overall trends emerge. All one can say at this point is that the more problematic central section of the coinage, i.e. classes A2–A5, appears to be of a slightly lower weight than the remainder. However, with the recorded numbers ranging from just two to four, any apparent trends must be viewed with considerable caution.

²⁴ Cowell 1992, 214; Northover 1992, 287; Hobbs 1996, 115–6.

²⁵ Northover 1992, 287.

²⁶ Allen 1975, 4.

²⁷ Williams 2005, 125–8.

²⁸ Kretz 2000, 101.

The weights of the much rarer quarter staters are once again remarkably even. None of the classes stand out on account of their weight and the maximum difference across all seven classes is just 0.04 g. Once again, these average weights in themselves offer little assistance in arriving at, or corroborating, a tentative chronology for this series (Table 5).

TABLE 5. Average weights of biga staters and quarter staters.

staters	<i>var.</i>	<i>no. of coins</i>	<i>wt, g</i>
A1		13	5.51
A2		4	5.41
A3		2	5.46
A4		3	5.40
A5		2	5.43
B1		14	5.53
B2		12	5.48
	all coins	50	5.46
quarter staters	<i>var.</i>	<i>no. of coins</i>	<i>wt, g</i>
(excluding one coin of untypically low weight)	A1	6	1.32
	A2	3	1.31
	A3	1	1.34
	B1	2	1.35
	B2	11	1.35
	B3	3	1.34
	B4	5	1.34
	all coins	31	1.34

Contexts

As is all too often the case, any contextual information providing worthwhile detail towards the establishment of a relative chronology for this series is rare. Archaeology too offers little assistance, as according to the Oxford Celtic Coin Index records not a single gold issue of Cunobelinus has been found in a secure Iron Age context in excavation. The situation regarding the multitude of single metal-detector finds is equally unsatisfactory and in the unlikely event that any contextual information ever existed, it must now be considered lost.

The one ray of light is provided by hoards. It is well known that hoards containing gold staters of Cunobelinus are comparatively rare,²⁹ and with deposits of biga staters previously unknown, this makes the Great Waltham, Essex hoard a particularly fortuitous find. This dispersed hoard consisted of at least eighteen biga staters and five Dubnovellaunos staters.³⁰ It was found over a number of years (1999–2001) in Great Waltham, near Chelmsford, and was acquired by Chelmsford Museum. Unfortunately, it was neither promptly reported nor properly recorded, although a limited amateur excavation at the time had revealed late Iron Age and Roman occupation.³¹ Its particular numismatic significance lies in the fact that for the first time coins of Dubnovellaunos and Cunobelinus were found together, thus adding further weight to the widely held belief that Cunobelinus succeeded Dubnovellaunos at Camulodunum.

The two, or possibly three, coins found at Weeley Heath, Essex date from before the discovery of the Weeley hoard in 2003 but may potentially form part of the same deposit(s).³² Reliable information on the hoard is however extremely sketchy and it is unlikely that its true

²⁹ de Jersey and Newman 1995.

³⁰ There are indications that the hoard may originally have contained close to forty staters.

³¹ de Jersey and Wickenden 2004.

³² de Jersey, pers. comm.

size and composition will ever be known. White Roding and Orsett (both Essex) have each produced two finds of biga gold, which may ultimately also form part of larger hoards (Table 6).

TABLE 6. Details of biga staters and quarter staters found in hoards.
All coins are staters unless otherwise noted.

<i>site</i>	<i>CCl no.</i>	<i>type</i>	<i>comments</i>
Gt Waltham, Essex	02.0934	B1	also included 5 'Essex' staters of Dubnovellaunos
	02.0935	B1	
	02.0936	B1	
	02.0937	B1	
	02.0938	B1	
	02.0939	B1	
	02.0940	B2	
	02.0941	B2	
	02.0942	B2	
	02.0943	B2	
	02.0944	B2	
	02.0945	B2	
	02.0946	A1	
	02.0947	A2	
	02.0948	A2	
	02.0949	A2	
	02.0950	A2	
	02.0951	A2	
<i>possible hoards</i>			
Weeley, Essex	94.0882	B2	no further details
	94.0883	—	bronze core?
	95.0571?	B1	quarter stater
Orsett, Essex	00.1531	A3	no further details
	05.0757	B2	quarter stater
White Roding, Essex	08.9689	B2	quarter stater; no further details
	97.1017	B4	quarter stater

Distribution

Ten years ago just ten of the twenty-one staters and five of the twenty-one quarter staters on record were provenanced.³³ Since then there has been a dramatic increase in the number of coins, with an additional thirty-seven biga staters and sixteen quarter staters registered. Unfortunately, due to the majority of the staters forming part of the Great Waltham hoard, this has not had the impact on the total number of recorded findspots one might otherwise have expected, giving us just four additional provenances for the stater and a further eight for the quarter stater.

The distribution map shows a heavy concentration of findspots within a fifty mile radius of Cunobelinus's capital at Camulodunum, and provides clear evidence that at this early stage in his reign his powerbase was more or less confined to the core Trinovantian territories (Fig. 19). This is further born out by Cunobelinus's earliest silver issues, which as de Jersey has shown, share a very similar pattern of distribution.³⁴ At the time of the last examination of the biga series, the quarter stater findspots appeared to be concentrated in the northern portion of Cunobelinus's territories.³⁵ However, with the steadily increasing number of discoveries, that perceived bias is now disappearing and provenances are becoming more evenly spread across the whole of his domain. There are a small number of finds of biga gold from some other tribal regions but these are on an insignificant scale.

³³ de Jersey 2000, 3.

³⁴ de Jersey 2001, 24, fig. 15.

³⁵ de Jersey 2000, 3.

A direct comparison between the distribution maps of Cunobelinus's biga gold (Fig. 19) and Dubnovellaunos's 'Essex' type stater (V1650/1655) is particularly illuminating,³⁶ as it quickly becomes apparent that the two distribution patterns are to all intents and purposes identical. This lends support to the concept of a clean and relatively peaceful transfer of power from Dubnovellaunos to Cunobelinus, thereby preserving the status quo and causing a minimum amount of disruption to tribal and economic affairs. The impression gained is that the Trinovantes may not have viewed Cunobelinus as the representative of an occupying power but rather as a natural successor to their throne.

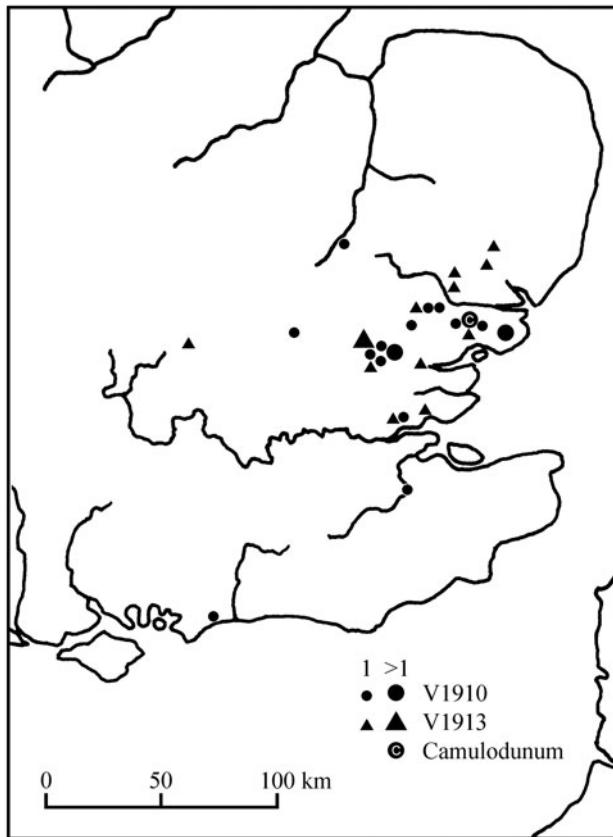


Fig. 19. Distribution of Cunobelinus's biga gold.

Discussion

Amongst the other British rulers of the time, the majority of whom are known only from their coin legends, Cunobelinus stands out as having received passing mentions in both classical and later medieval sources. Taken together with his formidable numismatic legacy, both in the number of types produced, the range of the subject matter and the quantity of his output, it confirms him as a figure of exceptional power and importance, with most of south-eastern Britain either directly under his control, or at the very least coming within his sphere of influence. The memory of his achievements remained so powerful that several decades after his death the Roman historian Suetonius referred to him as *Britannorum rex* (king of all the Britons).

³⁶ Kretz 2008b, 20, fig. 11.

Yet despite the historic references, we actually know very little about his life and rule. The one thing we can be reasonably sure about is that he was the son of the Catuvellaunian king Tasciovanos, as many of his coins proudly display his lineage in the form of **TASC FIL[IVS]** or, employing the genitive case, **TASCIIOVANI F**, **TASCIIOVANII** and **TASCIIOVANTIS**. The numismatic evidence also suggests that he was the brother, or perhaps half-brother, of Epaticcus, whose stater legend also proclaims him to be **TASCI F** (V575). There were most probably other brothers but, with one possible exception, the evidence remains unclear.

Tasciovanos, who may have inherited the Catuvellaunian domains on the death of Addedomaros, established his tribal capital and associated mint at Verlamio(n),³⁷ producing one of the most complex and long lasting of British dynastic coinages. In a long reign, which may have spanned thirty years or more, he consolidated his control over the various branches and sub-divisions of the Catuvellauni. In an effort to further expand his power base, he may also have undertaken military incursions into Kent and possibly Essex, as is suggested by the distribution of his **SEGO** types and of course the enigmatic **CAMVL** series.

The existence of a number of closely related issues, which carry additional names alongside his own, has long been recognized. These include **ANDOCO**, **DIAS**, **SEGO** and **RIGON/RICON**, the majority of which have traditionally been interpreted as personal names representing client kings, co-rulers or simply associates. The exact interpretation of **RIGON** or **RICON** has been the subject of particular speculation.³⁸ A recent examination of the philological evidence has reinforced the view that this is most probably the British equivalent of the Latin ‘rex’, and that in this context it may be interpreted as ‘ruler, chief or king’.³⁹

Andoco, on the other hand, is thought to have been a close relative (brother?) and a subordinate ‘petty’ king ruling over a small part of the Catuvellaunian domains, whose coinage is contemporaneous with Tasciovanos’s second stater series (V1730–36).⁴⁰ Sego may well represent an epithet like ‘victory’ or ‘the victorious’, rather than a personal name or mint signature, but neither can be ruled out at present.⁴¹ In the case of Dias, there is general agreement that it represents an abbreviated personal name whose full version may have been something along the lines of *Diasulos* or *Dias(s)umaros*.⁴² He was most probably a brother of Cunobelinus who issued a short-lived coinage in silver and bronze right at the very end of Tasciovanos’s reign. Another name closely associated with Tasciovanos is Rues, although the two are never found together on one coin. It has recently been suggested that Rues may constitute a cognomen and that the bronze units carrying that legend were probably issued by Tasciovanos.⁴³

The existence of a rare stater (V1684) and quarter stater (V1694) carrying the **CAMVL** legend would seem to suggest that Tasciovanos had long coveted the Trinovantian territories. However, the widespread belief that these types are evidence for at least a temporary conquest and occupation of Camulodunum is not supported by the findspot evidence for the **CAMVL** issues, nor by the remainder of Tasciovanos’s gold or silver issues.⁴⁴ There must therefore be another explanation for this conundrum. Typologically, the **CAMVL** types give every indication of belonging to the early part of Tasciovanos’s coinage. This in turn suggests that they were struck within a few years of Tasciovanos inheriting all, or part of Addedomaros’s kingdom, which according to the findspot evidence included both Catuvellaunian and at least part of the Trinovantian territories. As I have suggested elsewhere, it is just possible that Tasciovanos struck the **CAMVL** issues in anticipation of gaining control over the Trinovantian core territories, but that subsequent events conspired against him. Whilst entirely speculative, such a scenario would go at least some way towards explaining the extreme rarity of these issues.⁴⁵

³⁷ The original Celtic version of the Romano-British *Verulamium*, as attested by bronze unit V1808.

³⁸ Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 47; Kretz 2000, 100.

³⁹ Simkin 2010, 3.

⁴⁰ Kretz 2002, 267–71.

⁴¹ Kretz 2006, 195.

⁴² Kretz 2006, 196.

⁴³ Kretz 2007, 16–17.

⁴⁴ Kretz 2006, 202.

⁴⁵ Kretz 2008b, 22.

Cunobelius's rise to power, which appears to have happened in two distinct stages and within a relatively short period of time, is closely interlinked with the mystery surrounding the final years of his father's reign. The only information we have about this period is the substantial numismatic record of the various players involved, which we must carefully study and interpret so that we might eventually piece together a plausible scenario of the momentous events of that time. For reasons we can only guess at, it would seem that around a decade before his death Tasciovanus decided to rid himself of Andoco, a client king who ruled a minor portion of the Catuvellaunian territories, perhaps centred on Baldock.⁴⁶ Having achieved his aim, Tasciovanus was then able to proudly proclaim himself **RIGON** or **RICON** = 'ruler, chief or king' on his imposing third stater series (V1780). At around this time, Tasciovanus is also likely to have started giving serious consideration to his succession. It is entirely likely that Cunobelius was not the only contender at that time but that others, including Dias, were also part of the equation. Whatever ultimately happened to Dias we do not know, but his sudden departure from the stage would seem to suggest a forceful exit.

As I have set out in a previous article, I have become increasingly convinced that there was a significant overlap between Cunobelius assuming control over the Trinovantes and the death of Tasciovanus.⁴⁷ This idea is not new; it was first put forward almost 150 years ago by Sir John Evans, who speculated that this period may have been as much as ten years.⁴⁸ More recently de Jersey wrote that of the various possible scenarios, 'perhaps the most likely is that Cunobelin [sic] directly succeeded Dubnovellaunos at Colchester – perhaps by force, or possibly installed there by his father Tasciovanus [sic] – while the latter retained control at least temporarily of the Catuvellaunian territory'.⁴⁹ Other scholars have come to similar conclusions. Haselgrove considered a date prior to AD 6 for Dubnovellaunos's demise as plausible,⁵⁰ and Crummy has dated Cunobelius's first coin issues to AD 5.⁵¹

It has been suggested that Dubnovellaunos himself may have been of Catuvellaunian origin, and quite possibly even Tasciovanus's brother,⁵² in which case the Trinovantes had already lost their independence some decades earlier. Whatever the case, it is obvious that Dubnovellaunos was subjected to intense pressure – military or otherwise – to relinquish the kingship in favour of Cunobelius which, if we interpret the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* correctly, in turn resulted in his supplication to Augustus.

My support for the idea of a more substantial overlap is based on typological, stylistic and metrological grounds. As de Jersey has pointed out, Cunobelius's earliest silver issues (de Jersey group A) feature an archaic iconography, including serpents and bucrania entirely at odds with later issues and thus 'recall earlier Iron Age coinages of the North Thames region'.⁵³ Equally, a comparison with Tasciovanus's silver shows that these highly distinctive designs have more in common with his earlier issues than those of his final years. The same, albeit on a smaller scale, is also true for Cunobelius's earliest bronze issues (cf. V1963 and V1965). In addition, both silver and bronze issues contain one type each (V1918 and V1965) featuring the **CAMVL** legend in rudimentary monogram form, the only coins outside his biga series to do so. Legends of that kind are rare in the North Thames region and the only ones that come to mind are Tasciovanus's **CAMVL** issues (V1684 and V1694) and two silver and one bronze unit of Andoco (V1868, CCI 98.0155 and 90.0832), all of which are likely to predate Cunobelius's own issues. It is also worth recalling that the weights of de Jersey's group A silver average below 1.00 g,⁵⁴ and are thus almost identical in weight to Tasciovanus's earliest silver (my group A).⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Kretz 2002, 268.

⁴⁷ Kretz 2008a, 56.

⁴⁸ Evans 1864, 287.

⁴⁹ de Jersey and Wickenden 2004, 178.

⁵⁰ Haselgrove 1993, 44.

⁵¹ Crummy 1997, 20.

⁵² Crummy 1997, 21.

⁵³ de Jersey 2001, 27.

⁵⁴ de Jersey 2001, 5–6, table 2.

⁵⁵ Kretz 2006, 187, table 3.

We do not know precisely when Tasciovanos died, but a date around AD 5–10 is usually assumed. We are fortunate that one of his issues provides us with an important *terminus post quem*, which gives us a useful fixed point for our calculations. The ‘butting bull’ silver unit (V1794) was modelled on an issue of Augustus (*RIC I*, 187a/188a) struck around 11–10 BC. Stylistically, this type belongs towards the end of Tasciovanos’s mainstream silver issues and assuming it was copied within ten years of the original, this would give us a date of around the birth of Christ.⁵⁶ If we are correct in thinking that the ‘butting bull’ unit was followed by a small number of other mainstream silver issues and that the **SEGO** and **DIAS** issues were also struck around the very end of Tasciovanos’s reign, it may be necessary to add a few more years to the total, which in turn would project the date for Tasciovanos’s death into the early years of the first decade AD.

When taken together, the evidence would thus seem to point to an earlier date for Cunobelinus’s Trinovantian accession than that presently favoured. I believe the time between Cunobelinus taking control of the Trinovantes and Tasciovanos’s death may have amounted to a minimum of three and a maximum of five years. Had Tasciovanos died at the lower end of the AD 5–10 range, this would potentially give us a starting date for Cunobelinus’s earliest issues – including the biga series – of the early years of the first century AD, which in my view would be more consistent with the numismatic evidence here presented. Fig. 20 illustrates how the biga series might have chronologically interlinked with the coinages of the wider Tasciovanos complex and the Essex issues of Dubnovellaunus.

With Cunobelinus dying at some point between AD 40 and 43, such a scenario would imply a lengthy reign of up to forty years, which in turn would make Cunobelinus an old man by Iron Age standards, of around 65 years or more. Whilst perhaps unusual, this is by no means impossible when we consider that his Roman contemporaries Augustus and Tiberius died at the ages of 76 and 77 years respectively.

As I have already explained, there can be little doubt that in typological and stylistic terms, the biga series represents Cunobelinus’s first gold coinage. Its somewhat haphazard evolution, with the central sections of both stater and quarter stater types displaying evidence of experimentation and careless engraving, may point to a hurried production within a relatively short timeframe before the biga types were quickly replaced by the iconic corn-ear series, which remained the staple design for the remainder of Cunobelinus’s long reign. Judging by his gold issues alone, Cunobelinus was blessed with an innate sense of design and recognized the important role played by powerful images in maintaining his authority and spreading his fame. In design terms, the biga series represents a unique experiment within the British Iron Age coinage and due to its exceptional artistic quality and scarcity it will always occupy a special place in the hearts and minds of numismatists and collectors alike.

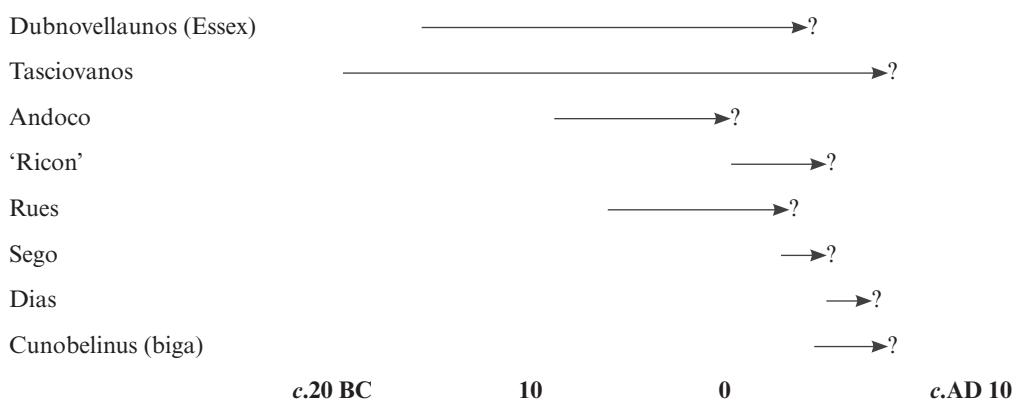


Fig. 20. Suggested phasing of Cunobelinus’s biga issues, relative to those of the Tasciovanos complex and the Essex issues of Dubnovellaunus.

⁵⁶ Kretz 2006, 193–4.

Although Derek Allen's pioneering classification of Cunobelius's gold coinage into five main types has survived essentially intact and largely unchallenged to this day, much detailed work remains to be done. It is most probably the study of the numismatic evidence which will ultimately bring about a better understanding of the events of that difficult period and in the process hopefully reveal the many facets of Cunobelius's exceptional coinage still awaiting discovery and interpretation. The present study represents but the first chapter in a long overdue comprehensive re-examination of all of Cunobelius's gold issues and it is hoped that it will provide the inspiration for others to follow suit.

APPENDIX. GAZETTEER OF CUNOBELINUS BIGA STATERS AND QUARTER STATERS.

The gazetteer contains details of all examples of Cunobelius biga staters and quarter staters recorded in the Celtic Coin Index (CCI) at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford up to the end of 2008. In addition to the usual bibliographic notes, the final column contains references to a number of auction catalogues, dealers' lists and museum collections, with abbreviations explained below:

BDW	Buckland, Dix and Wood auction catalogues
BMC	R. Hobbs, <i>British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum</i> , 1996
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group auction catalogues
CNR	Classical Numismatic Review (published by CNG)
DNW	Dix, Noonan and Webb auction catalogues
NCirc	Spink Numismatic Circular
Rudd	Chris Rudd sales lists
SCBI	<i>Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles</i>
Vosper	Mike Vosper sales lists

References to earlier gazetteers are abbreviated as *Origins* (Allen 1960) and *Suppl. I* or *II* (Haselgrove 1978 and 1984 respectively).

(R) denotes either a recut obverse or reverse die.

STATERS

CCI	wt, g	dies	provenance	comments
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EARLY TYPE

A1

Allen 1, V –, BMC –			CAMVL/CVNOB[....] and CVNOBELINI	
02.0946	5.56	A1	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 18
02.0947	5.55	A2	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 19
02.0948	5.54	A2	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 20
02.0949	5.59	A2	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 21
02.0950	5.51	A2	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 22
02.0951	5.45	A2	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 23
03.1416	–	–	–	Baldwin's 33, 6.5.2003, lot 282
06.0121	5.54	A2	Essex	NCirc Oct. 2008, no. 3561
06.0123	5.56	A1	Essex	–
08.8200	5.53	A2	–	Spink 21.11.1995, lot 48
08.8222	5.46	A2	–	Coin Galleries 10.4.1996, lot 12; 19.2.1998, lot 3
74.0071	5.53	A2	–	American Numismatic Society, Allen (1975) no. 1
82.0243	5.43	A1	Stanway, Essex	National Museum of Wales
99.0521	5.44	A2	Pleshey, Essex	–

A2

Allen 2–3, V1910–1, BMC 1769–70			CAMVL/CVNOBELINI	
68.0352	5.41	B2(R)	Cambridge, Cambs.	BMC 1770, Allen (1975) no. 2, V1910–1 plate coin
68.0353	5.47	B2(R)	Colchester, Essex	BMC 1769, Allen (1975) no. 3; <i>Suppl. II</i> , 131
82.0242	–	B2(R)	–	C.W. Lister coll., c.1982
94.1565	5.39	B2	–	NCirc Dec. 1994, no. 7812; April 1996, no. 1411; April 1997, no. 1461; April 2008, no. 180
98.0130	5.37	B2	–	–

CCI	wt, g	dies	provenance	comments
A3				
Allen -, V-, BMC -			CAMVL/CVNOCBELINI, CVNOCBELIN and CVNOB[....]	
00.1531	5.46	C3	Orsett, Essex	Rudd list 54, no. 74; list 74, no. 61
02.0675	-	C2(R)	-	-
06.0648	-	C4	Essex	-
08.8199	-	C4	-	Empire 74 (1995), no. 6
93.0917	5.45	C4	-	Glendining's (Mossop coll.), 6.11.1991, lot 313; <i>NCirc</i> 84 (1976), 190
A4				
Allen -, V -, BMC -			CAMVL/CVNO[....]	
05.0815	5.53	D5	-	DNW 73, 14.3.2007, lot 7
08.8204	5.45	D(R)6	-	CNG Triton VI 15.1.2003, lot 1313; CNR XXVII (2002), no.128; Freeman & Sear 22.2.2002, lot 2
94.1254	5.22	D(R)6	Colchester, Essex	BDW, 21.9.1994, lot 12
A5				
Allen 4-5, V -, BMC -			CAMVL/CVNOCBELI	
67.0158	5.44	E7	-	Hunterian Museum, Allen (1975) no. 4
73.0333	5.41	E7	-	Allen (1975) no. 5; ex Norweb coll., <i>SCBI</i> 16, no. 19; Glendining's (Lockett coll.), 6.6.1955, lot 39; Sotheby's (Roth coll.) 19.7.1917, lot 25

LATE TYPE

B1

Allen 6, V1910-2, BMC 1771			CAMVL/CVNOCBELINI, CVNOCBELIN[..]	
00.1112	5.5	F8	-	Vosper website, June 2000
02.0934	5.51	F8	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 6
02.0935	5.54	F8	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 7
02.0936	5.57	F8	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 8
02.0937	5.59	F9	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 9
02.0938	5.57	F9	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 10
02.0939	5.55	F9	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 11
05.1013	5.53	F8	Essex	-
06.0122	5.54	F8	Essex	-
06.0124	5.52	F8	Essex	-
08.8223	5.57	F8	-	Freeman & Sear 6, summer 2001, no.2
68.0351	5.52	F10	-	BMC 1771, Allen (1975) no. 6, V1910-2 plate coin
96.1489	5.48	F8	Abbess Beauchamp and Berners Roding, Essex	Vosper list 90, no. 29; Rudd list 43, no. 54
98.0504	5.44	F9	Datchworth, Herts.	Rudd list 31, no. 66; list 40, no. 32

B2

Allen 7-8, V -, BMC -			CAMVL/CVNOCBELINI, CVNOCBELI[...]	
02.0940	5.6	G11	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 12
02.0941	5.48	G11	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 13
02.0942	5.52	G11	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 14
02.0943	5.47	G11	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 15
02.0944	5.37	G11	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 16
02.0945	5.55	G12	Great Waltham, Essex	de Jersey and Wickenden (2004) coin no. 17
02.0955	5.37	G11	Frating, Essex	Colchester Museum
03.0622	5.48	G11	Great Waltham, Essex	hoard coin? CNG Triton VII, 14.1.2004, lot 1235
05.0109	5.51	G11	Roxwell, Essex	Rudd list 80, no. 55
08.9686	-	G11	-	Valued History website 2006
08.9687	-	G11	-	Vosper website 2008
67.0159	5.36	G11	Bognor, Sussex	Allen (1975) no. 7; CNG 57 4.4.2001, lot 1701; Spink 22.3.1989, lot 562; ex Mack, <i>SCBI</i> 20, no. 143; Glendining 10.10.1951, lot 64. Also recorded in <i>Origins</i> , 235; <i>BNJ</i> 1 (1904), 358 no. 28 (actually no. 25)

THE BIGA GOLD OF CUNOBELINUS

<i>CCI</i>	<i>wt, g</i>	<i>dies</i>	<i>provenance</i>	<i>comments</i>
73.0332	5.52	G11	Braintree, Essex	Allen (1975) no. 8; Sotheby's (Strauss coll.) 26.5.1994, lot 41, ex Drabble coll. Also recorded in <i>Suppl. I</i> , 67.
94.0882	5.54	G11	Weeley Heath, Essex	Rudd list 94, no. 52

uncertain records

94.0883	—		Weeley Heath, Essex	most probably a bronze core, only coin known from this obverse die
—	—		Colne, nr Halstead, Essex	<i>Origins</i> , 230, Evans 1864, 296, fd c.1847, reported by Mr Warren of Ixworth
—			Earl's Colne, Essex	<i>Origins</i> , 230, Evans 1890, 557, fd c.1862, reported by Mr Warren of Ixworth, same findspot as above and perhaps same coin?
—	—		near Maidstone, Kent	<i>Suppl. II</i> , 132, plated coin, fd 1979, shown to Maidstone Museum

QUARTER STATERS

<i>CCI</i>	<i>wt, g</i>	<i>dies</i>	<i>provenance</i>	<i>comments</i>
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EARLY TYPE**A1****Allen –, V –, BMC 1836A**

			CAMVL/CVNO
01.0834	1.39	A1	—
01.1978	1.28	A1	—
08.9688	1.30	A1	—
04.2292	1.28	A1	'Aylesbury, Bucks.' area
93.0918	1.33	A1	—
95.1451	—	—	Flowton, Essex
99.0487	1.36	A1	—

CNG Triton V, 15.1.2002, lot 2426, *NCirc* April 2001, CC0020

NCirc Oct. 2008, HS3562, CNG 57, 4.4.2001, lot 1702

BMC 1836A

DNW 29.9.2008, lot 5264 and 7.10.2004, lot 190

Glendining's (Mossop coll.), 6.11.1991, lot 314

—

Sotheby's (Stack's coll.) 22.4.1999, lot 82; Rudd list 57, no. 89

A2**Allen 150, V –, BMC –**

			CAMVL/CVNO or CVN
05.0798	1.35	B2	—
69.0372	1.27	B3	Suffolk/Essex border
75.0027	0.86	B3	—
95.2641	—	B3	—
96.2594	—	B3	Creeting St Mary, Suffolk
98.1109	1.3	B3	—

Rudd list 85, no. 77

Ipswich Museum, Allen (1975) no. 150; *Suppl. I*, 79, found in sugar beet washings

Allen (1975) addendum, 19, no. 213

NCirc May 1999 no. 2016, *Treasure Hunting* August 1995, 9, no. 6A

CNG 40, 4.12.1996, lot 357

Vosper list 101, no. 15

A3**Allen –, V –, BMC –**

			CAMVΓ/[.....]
95.0407	1.34	C4	—

—

LATE TYPE**B1****Allen –, V –, BMC –**

			CAMVL/CVNO
95.0571	1.36	D5	Colchester, Essex
96.1101	1.34	D5	—

Rudd list 16, no. 28, perhaps part of the Weeley Heath, Essex find?

Bank Leu 79, 31.10.2000, lot 27; Vosper list 88, no. 101

CCI	wt, g	dies	provenance	comments
B2				
Allen -, V -, BMC –			CAMVL/CVNO	
00.0616	1.43	E7	Lt. Waldingfield, Suffolk	<i>The Searcher</i> , September 2000, 11; <i>Treasure Hunting</i> , September 2004, 73
01.0048	1.38	E6	–	Rudd lists 74, no. 62 and 63, no. 73; Vosper list 116, no. 13; Phillips 17.12.2001, lot 157
04.2545	1.31	E6	Canvey Island, Essex	Rudd list 94, no. 53
05.0428	1.35	E6	–	Rudd list 82, no. 60
05.0757	1.28	E6	Orsett, Essex	–
08.9689	1.35	E6	White Roding, Essex	also known as White Roothing, Spink 27.3.2008, lot 739
08.9691	1.4	E6	Little Cornard, Suffolk	Portable Antiquities Scheme website 2008
08.9692	–		nr. Halstead, Essex	UK Detector Finds database 2008
93.0997	1.35	E6	Sussex	Finney loan (FL 670) to Birmingham Museum
97.1631	1.33	E6	–	CNG 43, 24.9.1997, lot 2965; CNG 40, 4.12.1996, lot 358
99.0488	1.32	E7	–	Sotheby's (Stack's coll.) 22.4.1999, lot 83
99.2053	1.3	E7	–	Vosper list 110, no. 3
B3				
Allen 149, V1913–1, BMC 1836			CAIAL or ?CAMVL/CVNO	
08.9690	1.40	F7	–	CNG Triton XII, 6.1.2009, lot 10
69.0373	1.35	F7	–	BMC 1836, Allen (1975) no. 149, V1913–1 plate coin
96.3557	1.28	F7	Maldon, Essex	Rudd list 25, no. 48
B4				
Allen -, V -, BMC –			CAMVL/CVNO	
02.0478	1.39	G7	Fyfield, Essex	Rudd list 64, no. 72
05.0688	1.38	H8	Little Bromley, Essex	–
97.1017	1.35	I10	White Roding, Essex	also known as White Roothing, Rudd list 27, no. 102
97.1827	1.29	H8	–	CNG 41, 19.3.1997 lot 2862
97.2120	1.27	H9	–	Rudd list 29, no. 79

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COINAGE. PART 1: THE TRANSITION FROM ROMAN TO ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE

GARETH WILLIAMS

Introduction

BETWEEN around AD 600 and 675 a substantive Anglo-Saxon gold coinage developed, although the fact that most of the coins are anonymous issues means that these dates can not be regarded as precise. This gradually became debased across the period until the levels of gold in the coinage became so low that numismatists recognise a transition from ‘gold’ to ‘silver’ coinage. Gold coins reappear alongside silver from the late eighth century to the eleventh, but these are extremely rare, with only eight certain surviving examples, together with some anonymous imitative issues which may also be of Anglo-Saxon manufacture. These later gold coins seem to have fulfilled a slightly different function from the coins of the main gold period, and are the subject of a recent major study by Mark Blackburn.¹ Nevertheless, with so few definite later Anglo-Saxon gold coins, it seems worthwhile to include them together with the earlier gold coinage, if only to consider how their design and use differed from that earlier phase.

Although an extensive literature already exists on many aspects, a combination of recent developments have made it possible to reconsider the subject in some detail. This is the result partly of the opportunity to revisit the question of the gold content of the Anglo-Saxon gold coinage, which has formed the basis for much of the previous discussion of the chronology of the coinage; partly of a desire to take account of a steadily growing body of finds evidence; partly of a growing body of research into coin use and monetisation in the Viking Age which appears to have some resonance for the early Anglo-Saxon period; and finally of the fact that the last few years have seen a lively discussion on the nature of coin use and precious metal economies in the fifth and sixth centuries. The development of Anglo-Saxon coinage did not take place in a vacuum, but as a response to monetary contacts beyond the English Channel, as well as to the legacy of Roman Britain in the period of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement of the fifth and sixth centuries. As a result, the study has expanded to a point at which it seems more appropriate to publish it in three parts, as it seems too large for a single article, but not quite large enough to justify a book or monograph in its own right. Part one begins with a brief survey of previous research on the Anglo-Saxon gold coinage, but its main focus is on coin-use in the fifth and sixth centuries, before the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon coinage c.AD 600, together with the continued importation of foreign coins in the early seventh century. Part two will consider the typology, geographical distribution and the attribution to particular kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxon coinage itself. Following XRF-analysis of the metal content of a significant number of gold coins by my colleague Duncan Hook, it will also reconsider the question of the relative chronology of the early gold issues. Part three will look at the function (or rather, functions) of gold coinage in Anglo-Saxon England, and will draw some more general conclusions.

Unlike both earlier and later periods, in which gold coins circulated in Britain as high-value denominations alongside less valuable issues in other metals, the only coinage to be issued

Acknowledgements. The author has benefited in the preparation of this paper from discussion with Sam Moorhead, Richard Abdy, Peter Guest, Nick Wells, Roger Bland and Philippa Walton. Lauren Bishopp and Tom Williams provided valuable assistance in preparing the tables, and Sam Moorhead, Richard Abdy and Elina Screen commented on this paper in draft. Any mistakes are of course the responsibility of the author.

¹ Blackburn 2007.

in Anglo-Saxon England before the late seventh century was struck in gold. Some finds of imported Byzantine bronze *folles* (and lower denominations) are recorded, and the questions of continuity and re-use of late Roman silver and bronze coins will be discussed in more detail below. Those questions aside, the finds record is dominated by gold coins, both Anglo-Saxon and imported issues. The Anglo-Saxon coinage followed the established trend of imported coins in the sixth century, and like all of the main imported gold currencies, the Anglo-Saxons adopted a currency based on the two main gold denominations of the Late Roman/Byzantine coinage. These were the *solidus*, and the rather more common *tremissis*, representing a third of a *solidus*. The smaller coin is variously described in numismatic literature as shilling, *tremissis* and *thrymsa*, representing one-third of a solidus. Although the Old English term *scilling* may originally have referred to the larger solidus, Philip Grierson argued convincingly that references in the early Kentish law-codes were to the smaller denomination, corresponding to the Byzantine and Frankish *tremissis*, and it is likely that *scilling* was used to refer to these coins in Old English, and *tremissis* in Latin.² The term *thrymsa* has been taken to be an Anglicisation of Latin *tremissis*, and is widely used by modern numismatists for gold coins of this period. However, the term is only used in much later Anglo-Saxon documents, apparently as a unit of account rather than an actual coin, and there seems to be little point in perpetuating the misapplication of this term to the early Anglo-Saxon gold coinage. Both shilling and *tremissis* appear to be appropriate, and it can be helpful to use shilling to distinguish Anglo-Saxon coins from continental *tremisses* of the same size and weight. However, since a few issues of this period can not be attributed with certainty as Frankish, Frisian or Anglo-Saxon, the term *tremissis* is used for consistency throughout this paper, regardless of the place of origin.

Survey of existing literature

Although the number of Anglo-Saxon gold coins is steadily increasing, they have always been comparatively rare, and the corpus continues to be dominated by the only substantial hoard of the period, discovered at Crondall in Hampshire in 1828, which contained 69 Anglo-Saxon coins out of a total of 101 recorded coins/pseudo-coins. Prior to the discovery of the Crondall hoard, although individual gold coins were recorded as curiosities, and were also included in general surveys of the coinage, there were simply not enough coins to permit (or justify) a detailed study of the series as a whole. The Crondall hoard itself attracted considerable attention, and a number of articles were published on the subject in the years which followed its discovery.³ Even then, the corpus remained small, and there was no attempt in the nineteenth century at a serious study of early Anglo-Saxon coins along the lines of the great studies of the contemporary Frankish coinage by Belfort and Prou.⁴ The fact that the Crondall hoard had been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum meant that gold coins were still poorly represented in the British Museum Catalogue of 1887, and it was not until 1948 that Humphrey Sutherland produced the first major study, both of the Crondall hoard itself, and of Anglo-Saxon gold coinage more generally.⁵

Sutherland's book was a major undertaking, and included a detailed classification of the coinage, linking individual related types into larger groups, carrying out die studies within each type and, where possible, recording find-spots for the coins. Although elements of Sutherland's classification have now been superseded by more recent research, this remains the foundation on which all subsequent studies have been built. No further substantial work on the gold coinage as a whole was undertaken for several decades, although various articles looked in more detail at a number of individual coins, especially in the later gold series from the reign of Offa onward.⁶

² Grierson 1961. An important discussion of monetary terminology relating to this period is provided in Hines forthcoming.

³ Akerman 1843–4; Akerman 1855; Lefroy 1870; Ponton d'Amecourt 1872.

⁴ Belfort 1892–5; Prou 1892.

⁵ Sutherland 1948.

⁶ Grierson 1953; Blunt 1961; Blunt and Dolley 1968; Pagan 1965.

The next influential addition to the study of the early gold period was an article by Philip Grierson in which he sought to provide social rather than economic explanations for the deposition of both the Crondall hoard and the contents of the purse in the Sutton Hoo ship burial, arguing that the Crondall hoard represented a Kentish *wergild* of 100 shillings, while the Sutton Hoo purse represented a payment for the ‘crew’ of the ship in the afterlife, by analogy with the Greek tradition of Charon’s obol.⁷ There are major problems with both arguments, but although Grierson’s interpretation of the Sutton Hoo coins was convincingly challenged by Alan Stahl in 1992, the problems with his interpretation of Crondall have only recently been addressed in print.⁸

The early 1970s saw a number of contributions to the subject, linked to the study and interpretation of the Sutton Hoo burial. Although the purse from the ship-burial contained no Anglo-Saxon coins, the presence of the coins raised questions about the nature and extent of coin use in England in the seventh century, while pressure to provide a firm date for such an important burial led to the development of a chronology for the Merovingian gold coinage which could be extended to the Anglo-Saxon series. This chronology was based on a discernible reduction over time in the gold content of dateable Merovingian coins, with other coins dated by their gold content in comparison. This approach was considered by John Kent and Andrew Oddy in a number of articles, as well as in the main Sutton Hoo publication of 1975.⁹ Subsequent studies have questioned the reliability of the method, and also whether (even if the method is accepted) the evidence supports Kent’s conclusions in regard to the dating of Sutton Hoo.¹⁰ However, while the detail of this approach is certainly open to challenge, a broad correlation between chronology and debasement does appear to be justified, both in the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon gold coinages. While the majority of Merovingian *tremisses* cannot be dated precisely, the existence of some coins which can be attributed to dateable rulers provides some dating evidence for hoards, and therefore for associated *tremisses* in these hoards, and there appears to be at least partial correlation between debasement and dateable hoards, even if one needs to be wary of the precision of some of the published dates.¹¹

In addition to Kent’s work on the Sutton Hoo coins themselves, the Sutton Hoo volume also included an important contribution by Stuart Rigold.¹² With the two major finds of Crondall and Sutton Hoo now catalogued by Sutherland and Kent respectively, Rigold provided an important survey of smaller hoards and single finds of both Anglo-Saxon and imported gold coins from the sixth and seventh centuries. While a significant number of additional finds have been recorded since its publication, Rigold’s survey still provides valuable information, as well as a pointer to the direction which was to follow, of using recorded find-spots as a key to the attribution of anonymous coin-types, as well as placing the development of the Anglo-Saxon coinage firmly in the context of related imported material found in England. Rigold made another important contribution to the field, developing a detailed typology for the series which followed on chronologically from those studied by Sutherland.¹³ Although this was mostly concerned with the so-called ‘sceatta’ (now considered a spurious name for Anglo-Saxon pennies) coinage in silver, it included the Pada and Vanimundus types, which can be seen as transitional issues between the gold and silver issues (to be discussed further in Part two of this paper).

The Anglo-Saxon gold coinage was revisited by Ian Stewart in a Festschrift in honour of Sutherland in 1978.¹⁴ Stewart extended Sutherland’s corpus with some additional finds, and raised some useful points about aspects of Sutherland’s classification. He also included discussion of the later Anglo-Saxon gold coins, and considered the application of Kent and Oddy’s

⁷ Grierson 1970, building on Grierson 1961.

⁸ Stahl 1992; Williams 2006, 174–9.

⁹ Oddy *et al.* 1972; Oddy 1972; Kent 1975a; Kent 1975b.

¹⁰ Brown 1981; Stahl and Oddy 1992; Williams 2005.

¹¹ Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 109.

¹² Rigold 1975.

¹³ Rigold 1960–61 and 1977.

¹⁴ Stewart 1978.

progressive debasement model to the chronology of the early Anglo-Saxon gold. Probably the most influential element in this article was the division of the coinage into a number of phases. Reflecting the fact that the Crondall hoard dominated the corpus of Anglo-Saxon gold coinage, Stewart defined the phases in terms of the hoard. Those types which actually featured in the hoard were defined, reasonably enough, as 'Crondall' types. Those which did not were divided into 'Pre-Crondall', 'Post-Crondall' and 'Ultra-Crondall'. This classification will be discussed in more detail in Part two of this paper.

A slightly different approach was taken by Michael Metcalf, who considered the early gold in his 1989 article, 'The availability and uses of gold coinage in England, c.580–c.670: Kentish primacy reconsidered' and in the first volume of his three-volume work *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum*, published in 1993.¹⁵ Metcalf did not set out a corpus, in the style of Sutherland and Stewart, although he did note that a number of additional finds had been recorded since Stewart's 1978 article. Metcalf was able in *Thrymsas and Sceattas* to draw on the recent discovery of a number of pale gold issues from the productive site at Coddenham in Suffolk, but these were part of a wider trend, which saw the recording of a growing number of both Anglo-Saxon and Continental gold coins, mostly as a result of metal detecting. Both the growth in the number of finds and improvements in the consistent recording of finds since the 1980s have led to a recognition that hoards and single finds provide very different types of evidence, and that the overall corpus of single finds probably provides more reliable evidence for the general pattern of coin circulation within a given period than any specific hoard from the same period. Metcalf has been one of the pioneers of this approach, and he correctly predicted that the corpus of single finds would continue to increase dramatically, and that this new evidence might demonstrate that the Crondall hoard was not necessarily particularly representative of the gold phase of Anglo-Saxon coinage taken as a whole, or even of the more limited sub-phase represented within the hoard. At the same time, Metcalf recognised that Crondall continued to dominate the corpus, and that there were not yet enough well-provenanced single finds to provide a statistically-convincing reinterpretation of coin circulation on the basis of the distribution of individual types. He did not depart significantly from the established Crondall-based classifications. However, he did note that, although the total number of finds remained low in comparison with other periods, the growing body of evidence was beginning to suggest that the early gold coinage might have had greater monetary significance than had been generally accepted following Grierson's earlier interpretations of the more restricted 'social' functions of both Sutton Hoo and Crondall.

While short notes and articles have appeared on various individual coins and types,¹⁶ the next major work to deal with the early gold was Anna Gannon's 2003 book, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage, Sixth to Eighth Centuries*.¹⁷ In this book and in various articles, Gannon has compared the iconography of coin design with the wider use of imagery in early medieval art, both in Anglo-Saxon England elsewhere, and she has particularly emphasised the strong Christian element in early Anglo-Saxon coin design, exploring the association between the issuing of coinage and Christianisation, and the possibility that certain coin types may represent ecclesiastical issues. Because her book is arranged thematically rather than chronologically, discussion of the various gold types is spread throughout Gannon's work alongside the silver series that followed. Nor is the gold series treated as a whole, but there is useful discussion of several important types.

The publication at the beginning of 2006 of a Festschrift in honour of Marion Archibald provided a concentration of papers relating to the use of coinage in early Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁸ A catalogue of hoards and single finds between AD 410 and 675 by Richard Abdy and the current author extended the corpus of recorded finds of both Anglo-Saxon and imported coins, although more were discovered in the interval between completion of the

¹⁵ Metcalf 1989 and 1993.

¹⁶ Stewart 1986; Pirie 1992; Tweddle and Moulden 1992; Blackburn 1994; Blackburn 1998; Williams 1998; Williams 2007.

¹⁷ Gannon 2003.

¹⁸ Cook and Williams (eds) 2006; the individual papers in the volume are listed in the references under author.

catalogue and publication, while several others have been discovered since, emphasising the need to revisit the subject periodically to see how new finds may affect our interpretation of the existing material. In addition to the catalogue, Richard Abdy and Sam Moorhead contributed papers on the use of coinage in post-Roman England prior to the introduction of Anglo-Saxon coins. Mark Blackburn, Nick Mayhew and Arent Pol each discussed specific Anglo-Saxon or Continental types, while Anna Gannon considered the role of imitation in the development of early Anglo-Saxon coin design.

The early section of the Archibald Festschrift also included a longer article by the present author, entitled 'The circulation and function of coinage in conversion-period England, c.AD 580–680',¹⁹ although the paper also included some discussion of coin-use in the fifth and earlier sixth centuries to provide context for developments in the period discussed in the title. The current paper to some extent draws on that earlier paper, combined with more detailed analysis of the chronology, scale, and attribution of the various Anglo-Saxon gold issues, which was excluded from the earlier study for reasons of both time and space. The conclusions drawn there are further modified here by the discovery and recording of several more examples of both Anglo-Saxon coins and continental imports since the previous catalogue and article were completed, as well as by the work of various colleagues working on Roman and sub-Roman material (see below, pp. 56–7).

The last work on early Anglo-Saxon gold that must be mentioned here is Anna Gannon's forthcoming *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* volume covering the early Anglo-Saxon collections in the British Museum.²⁰ This will include a section by Duncan Hook on his metallurgical analyses of gold coins in the collections of the British Museum, together with coins of the same period in the Fitzwilliam Museum and a number of private collections. Between them, these collections provide a good cross-section of the whole of the main gold coinage, providing the opportunity to revisit earlier work on the relationship between debasement and chronology. Although the full discussion of this material will appear in the *Sylloge* volume, the results of the analysis will appear in Part two of this paper, and form the basis for the discussion of the chronology there.²¹

In addition to work on the early gold period, mention must also be made of a recent major article by Mark Blackburn on the later period of gold use from the reign of Offa onwards.²² This considers the eight definite late Anglo-Saxon gold coins, together with the use and imitation of imported issues in this later period, in particular the solidi of Louis the Pious, as well as the wider use of gold for economic purposes. The article combines coinage with other archaeological material and contemporary written records of coin use to provide a comprehensive discussion of gold coinage in the later period, so that an extended discussion of the later coinage here is unnecessary. This paper is now supplemented by the publication of the metallurgical analysis of these later coins, carried out as part of the process of authenticating the gold mancus of Coenwulf of Mercia.²³

The problem of the fifth century

The use of coinage was well established in Britain long before the Anglo-Saxon settlements of the fifth century, with coinage attributed to various southern British communities in the Late Iron Age being gradually superseded by the developed Roman imperial coinage. Some Roman minting did take place in Britain, but the majority of Roman coins in Britain were always imported, and the withdrawal of the Roman armies in the early fifth century undoubtedly caused severe disruption both to the coin supply and to the nature of the monetary economy in fifth-century Roman Britain. This has often been interpreted as a complete break in both

¹⁹ Williams 2006.

²⁰ Gannon forthcoming.

²¹ I am grateful to Tony Abramson, Stewart Lyon and Lord Stewartby for making their collections available for the purposes of this analysis, and to Mark Blackburn and Martin Allen for facilitating the analysis of the Fitzwilliam coins.

²² Blackburn 2007.

²³ Williams and Cowell 2009.

coin supply and coin use until the reintroduction of coinage in Kent at the very end of the sixth century.²⁴ This approach fit into a much wider view, which saw an abrupt end of Roman Britain around AD 410, but which struggled to provide a convincing explanation of the gap that this imposed in the archaeological evidence between the 'Roman' layers and the evidence of identifiable Anglo-Saxon material culture. This apparent gap has sometimes been described as the 'problem of the fifth century'. However, reinterpretation of the dating of some of the hoards from the end of Roman Britain combines with an accumulation of site finds, provenanced stray finds and an important mixed hoard from Patching in Sussex (deposited c.475) to suggest both that the existing coin stock continued to circulate for longer than was formerly recognised, and that imported coinage continued to enter southern Britain throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, albeit in much smaller quantities than in the period before c.410.²⁵

A cluster of hoards terminating in issues of the beginning of the fifth century have traditionally been linked with the turmoil surrounding the departure of the Roman army in 410. The historical narrative of a straightforward withdrawal is no longer widely accepted, and the significance of the year 410 in particular for Britain has been questioned, although the sack of Rome in that year had implications for the whole empire.²⁶ While interpretations vary on the exact nature of what followed,²⁷ it now seems clear that there was some element of continuity in government, and some sort of continued military presence, even if a large proportion of the army was withdrawn, and payment to the army from central imperial authority certainly ceased. Continuity was by no means uniform, and Ken Dark has argued the need to recognise regional differentiation, with Romano-British communities in western and northern Britain perhaps retaining more elements of late Roman structures, while the south-east and east were more heavily influenced by the Anglo-Saxons from an early date.²⁸ More recent work by Rob Collins and Matt Chesnais argues for a distinct post-Roman militarised society in the fifth century in the area around Hadrian's Wall.²⁹ However, the apparent fragmentation of Roman Britain in the early fifth century does not necessarily mean that there was a complete breakdown of Roman authority, or that there ceased to be a need for means of payment. The silver siliquae which made up a large part of the currency in this period are frequently found clipped in British finds (both hoards and single finds), a pattern which is rarely observed on the Continent. Peter Guest has argued that the clipping can be divided into four categories of severity, reflecting repeated clipping over time.³⁰ Guest argued that the bulk of this clipping took place after the cessation of coin imports in the first decade of the fifth century, and that the deposition of the hoards featuring these coins could be several decades later than the *tpq* suggested by the minting of the coins, although there is no reliable method of telling exactly how long they continued to circulate. Guest's interpretation has been followed by other Roman numismatists, and is reinforced by recent analysis of single finds of siliquae by Sam Moorhead, Roger Bland and Philippa Walton.³¹ This shows that while clipping probably began as early as the fourth century, there was a significant increase in clipping in the fifth. Furthermore, the distribution of late siliquae, including clipped examples, shows continued widespread use of coin in southern and eastern Britain, although coin seems largely to have disappeared in the West Midlands and the North-West.

Clipping is often associated with unofficial abuse of the coinage, as in late medieval and early modern England, and the same assumption has sometimes been made for the clipped siliquae. Clipping begins in the fourth century, and this may well have been undertaken for nefarious purposes. However, Richard Abdy has argued (convincingly, in my opinion) that the clipping phenomenon of the fifth century was carried out officially, as a means of extending

²⁴ E.g. Kent 1961.

²⁵ Guest 2005; Abdy 2006, 2009 and Abdy forthcoming; Williams 2006.

²⁶ Salway 1984; Moorhead and Stuttard 2010.

²⁷ For a summary of different approaches, see Dark 2000.

²⁸ Dark 2000. See also Harris 2003, 139–88.

²⁹ Collins 2006; Chesnais 2008.

³⁰ Guest 1997 and 2005.

³¹ Moorhead, Bland and Walton, forthcoming.



Fig. 1, a–c. Three siliqua, showing varying degrees of clipping. (a) A siliqua of Constantius III (407–11) from an unknown findspot has only been slightly clipped, suggesting a comparatively short circulation; a second (b) from the Hoxne hoard is rather more heavily clipped, suggesting that the hoard was deposited some time after that reign; a siliqua of Julian (360–3) from the same hoard (c) is even more heavily clipped, with only the centre remaining.

the limited coin stock, while enabling the clipping to be recycled, either as further siliquae or as bullion.³² ‘Imitation’ siliquae are sometimes found in the hoards, and while some of these are probably contemporary imitations of the fourth and very early fifth centuries, it is possible that some of these are local issues of the fifth century. Since these too are vulnerable to clipping, it would require a very detailed study, which has not yet taken place, to ascertain whether any of these imitations could indeed date from after the interruption of the coin supply at the beginning of the fifth century. The use of bullion, however, is certainly a possibility, as the fifth-century hoard from Coleraine in Ireland contains ingots and hack-silver as well as coins.³³ The late Roman economy also seems to have been geared towards payment by weight, both within the empire and especially beyond the frontiers, even when payments were made predominantly in coin.³⁴ Interestingly a short-lived period of use of hack-silver is visible in the Anglo-Saxon homelands of southern Denmark and northern Germany in this period, as well as in hoards on the fringes of Roman Britain, such as Coleraine and Traprain Law.³⁵ Hack-silver also appears together with coinage in the Patching hoard, *tpq c.475*, which weighed very close to one Roman pound in total, while the slightly later (and much smaller) hoard from Oxborough probably also reflects re-use of coins, first as ornaments, then as jewellery. However, Abdy argues that the clipping phenomenon was over by the time that Patching was deposited, since it combines clipped siliquae from the existing coin stock with more recent imports which have not been clipped, although it is impossible to say how long before deposition these had been imported.

Imported coins

This brings us on to the subject of imported coins, a number of which were included in Rigold’s 1975 listing of coin finds in the Sutton Hoo volume. A more extensive list was published by Abdy and Williams in 2006 (closing with finds around the beginning of 2004), and this can now be supplemented with new finds recorded on both the EMC and PAS databases. A further listing, including only imperial and pseudo-imperial gold coins, will appear as part of a larger forthcoming study of Roman gold coins in Britain by Bland and Loriot,³⁶ and I am grateful to the authors for sharing their data in advance of publication. Both Abdy and Williams 2006 and the EMC database include a certain amount of double counting. Tables 2–5 in the Appendix below (pp. 61–73) present a new listing of the hoards and single finds of

³² Abdy 2006, 2009 and Abdy forthcoming.

³³ Abdy forthcoming. Analysis of the Coleraine ingots has recently been carried out at the British Museum, to permit direct comparison of their composition with late siliquae, but results of this analysis are not yet available.

³⁴ Kent and Painter 1977; Guest 2007.

³⁵ A series of papers discussing the hack-silver phenomenon in this period from different perspectives will be published in Hunter and Painter (forthcoming).

³⁶ Bland and Loriot forthcoming.

imported coins, and attempt to provide a concordance of the gold coins included in these various existing lists. A recent study of imported bronze coins by Sam Moorhead indicates that these also continued to enter the country in the fifth and sixth centuries, and their distribution broadly reflects that of the latest phase of the siliquae.³⁷ I have argued elsewhere that Roman bronze coins of the fourth century and even earlier may also have been re-used throughout this period. Earlier Roman bronzes were certainly widely used as weights in this period.³⁸

Turning to the gold, this comes from a variety of sources. Official late Roman/Byzantine coins predominate in the fifth century, although they are joined by pseudo-Imperial issues in increasing numbers in the late fifth and sixth centuries. These have a variety of origins, including Frankish, Visigothic, Burgundian and probably Frisian issues, as well as some which cannot be precisely identified. Provençal pseudo-imperial issues are particularly well represented and these, together with the official Byzantine issues, point to trading links down the west coast of France and into the Mediterranean, as well as directly across the Channel. Two finds of Sasanian drachms probably reflect the same route. Imports of imperial issues continue through the sixth century, with peaks under Justinian (527–65), and Maurice Tiberius (582–602), followed by only three coins of Phocas (602–10), and the coin supply apparently ended almost completely during the reign of Heraclius (610–41). Single coins of Tiberius III (698–705)³⁹ and Leo III (717–41)⁴⁰ fall so long after the main series had stopped (and outside the Anglo-Saxon gold period) that on current evidence they can be seen as exceptions, and thus have been excluded from the main catalogue. As noted by Bland and Loriot,⁴¹ the density of finds per regnal year drops dramatically from Maurice Tiberius to Heraclius, and while this could indicate gradual tailing off, it might also indicate an abrupt end to the imports somewhere comparatively early in the reign of Heraclius, suggesting the termination of direct trading contacts with the Mediterranean. If so, the cut-off must post-date 613, since examples of the joint issue of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (613–32) are represented.

The sixth century also saw the emergence of distinct Frankish and Visigothic coinages, and the former came to dominate the assemblage of imported coins toward the end of the sixth century and into the seventh. There are a few examples of Frankish regal issues, but the majority are coins of the mint and moneyer type, produced across the Frankish kingdom from c.580 onwards, and represented extensively both in Sutton Hoo and Crondall. The steady increase in finds of this type shows that the coins in Sutton Hoo and Crondall are rather more representative of circulating currency than was recognised in earlier publications. In the latter part of the period, from c.630 onwards, Frisian issues of the Dronrijp and Nietap types also become relatively common.



Fig. 2. Gold and garnet pendant cross from Wilton, Norfolk, containing a gold solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine. This is both the most ornate example of a coin re-used as jewellery, and one of the last of the imported imperial issues.

³⁷ Moorhead 2009. Unpublished data collated by Nick Wells (pers. comm.) complements Moorhead's article.

³⁸ Moorhead 2006; Williams 2006.

³⁹ Bland and Loriot forthcoming, no. 867.

⁴⁰ Rigold 1975, no. 25; Abdy and Williams 2006, no. 78; Bland and Loriot forthcoming, no. 868.

⁴¹ Bland and Loriot forthcoming.



Fig. 3. Gold solidus of Anastasius from Shorwell, Isle of Wight. Although the coin comes from a grave, it shows no sign of secondary use.

The function of the coins will be discussed in more detail in Part three, but for now it is useful to make some preliminary points. At the time of the Sutton Hoo publication, the corpus of finds of this period was dominated by excavation finds, predominantly from burials. A large proportion of these had been re-used as ornaments (see Fig. 3), along with some earlier gold coins which were also re-used as coin-jewellery, again indicating the availability and re-use of coin-stock from before the termination of the Roman coin supply. However, the single finds evidence reveals a very different picture. Grave finds now represent a much smaller proportion of the corpus, and most of the coins with secondary usage as ornaments either come from graves or have uncertain provenances, although a small number of stray finds also show this treatment. The vast majority of stray finds do not, however, indicating that coins circulated predominantly as coins, and although in burial practice coin-jewellery is more prevalent, even coins from graves do not all show secondary treatment (see Fig. 3). However, even where coins do show such secondary treatment, which includes piercing, mounting with suspension loops and occasionally mounting in frames, this re-use demands that coins be available in the first place. Although re-used coins of this type should no longer be considered as currency by the time they were deposited, it is reasonable to assume that they had at least entered the country as currency, even if we cannot say how long they may have circulated.

Another aspect which has changed significantly in recent years is the distribution. Rigold's listing was completely dominated by coins from Kent, reflecting both a focus on Kentish cemetery sites amongst early excavators and continued interest amongst more recent excavators in an area known to produce large amounts of interesting material. No other county at that stage had significant numbers of finds (counting the hoards of Sutton Hoo, Crondall, and Kingston on Thames as one find-spot each). With the number of finds now so much greater, and based on a full decade of national finds reporting under the Portable Antiquities Scheme (as well as the more extended period of recording through the Coin Register and EMC), we now probably have a more realistic picture of the distribution (see Table 1), although one still skewed by the volume of the Kentish excavated material. Kent remains far and away the most popular area, and this probably genuinely reflects Kent's proximity to the continent, and perhaps both political and economic links, in addition to any bias in the recording. Whether this amounted to full-blown Frankish hegemony may be disputed but there certainly seems to be a link between Frankish influence and the Christianisation of Kent.⁴² At the same time, a number of other areas emerge with significant numbers of coins finds from this period. Interestingly, Sussex and Hampshire have a relatively low density of finds, despite the fact that they might also benefit from a relatively short and easy crossing. Other southern counties also have relatively light distributions. A sprinkling of finds in the south-west, Wales and Ireland points to access via Cornwall and the Atlantic coast of France, reflecting archaeological evidence for trading routes between the Mediterranean and western Britain and the Irish Sea.⁴³ Anthea Harris has also argued that these finds represent continued political and cultural contacts between Byzantium and western Europe, including

⁴² Wood 1983; Yorke 2006.

⁴³ Lane 1994; Campbell 1996; Wooding 1996; Dark 1996; Dark 2000.

Britain, rather than trade alone.⁴⁴ This point is particularly significant given the role of coinage as a public expression of both identity and authority, and will be explored in more detail in Part three of this paper.

TABLE 1. Imported coin finds, c.410–675, arranged in order of number of finds per county.

<i>Finds per county</i>	<i>County</i>
More than 100	Kent
More than 35	Norfolk
More than 20	Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Essex
More than 10	Yorkshire, Uncertain
6–10	London, Cambridgeshire, Isle of Wight, 'East Anglia'
2–5	Sussex, Surrey, Nottinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Derbyshire, Hertfordshire, Wiltshire, Co. Meath
1	Anglesey, Buckinghamshire, Durham, Co. Leix, Middlesex, Northumberland, Pembrokeshire, Warwickshire

The significant change, however, is in the east. Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Suffolk, Essex and Yorkshire all have significant numbers of finds, followed by Cambridgeshire, with a limited amount of penetration into the East Midlands and the Home Counties, but virtually nothing further west. This reflects the importance of the North Sea as another major sailing route, and it comes as no surprise that mint-and-moneyer coins from Dorestad, as well as the anonymous Frisian types, are concentrated in these eastern counties. Coins from Quentovic, further south and west along the Channel coast, are more evenly distributed between these counties and Kent. However, the presence in these eastern areas of coins from Provence and the Mediterranean indicates that the East Coast did not simply benefit from the North Sea trade, but provided the ultimate destination for shipping coming up the western route round Brittany and the English Channel. Alan Stahl has noted, in the context of the Sutton Hoo coins, that by the early seventh century there was widespread circulation of coins within the Frankish kingdoms, so that the wide variety of mints represented within the Sutton Hoo purse is consistent with an entirely random distribution of coins drawn from the Frankish currency, rather than pointing to specific links with any particular area.⁴⁵ Thus, coins from southern mints could also have arrived in eastern England via northern Frankish ports such as Dorestad and Quentovic. However, the presence of southern issues from the earlier phase of imperial and pseudo-imperial coinage in the fifth and early sixth centuries, when western Europe was both politically and economically more fragmented, must surely point to direct contacts with the south.

The influence of Roman and sub-Roman coinage in early Anglo-Saxon England: preliminary conclusions

The role and significance of coinage in this period will be considered in more detail in Part three of this paper in a later volume of the *Journal*, but I think that it is helpful to note some preliminary conclusions at this point, as a background to the analysis of the Anglo-Saxon gold coinage which will appear in Part two.

Firstly, as mentioned above, it now seems clear that, while there was an undoubtedly break in the coinage supply around the beginning of the fifth century, and with it a significant drop in the volume of circulation, monetary activity continued through the fifth and sixth centuries on a smaller scale, based on a combination of re-use of the existing coin-stock, and the continued small-scale importation of continental coinage. This importation continued well into the seventh century (after the introduction of the earliest Anglo-Saxon issues) as far as Frankish coins were concerned, but there was a dramatic drop in the volume of imported gold from the

⁴⁴ Harris 2003.

⁴⁵ Stahl 1992.

Mediterranean early in the seventh century. This fits neatly with the mixture of coins in the Crondall hoard, and it is also tempting to link the pattern of importation of Byzantine gold coins with the apparent ready availability of gold for ornaments, etc., in northern Europe up to the early seventh century, with a decline in the gold content of both coins and ornaments following once the coin supply had dried up.

Secondly, there is a consistent distribution pattern, which shows continued use of siliquae across much of southern and eastern Britain in the fifth century, and mirrored to some extent in the distribution of imported coinage, particularly in gold, but also to some extent in bronze, although this has not been studied so intensively. This pattern sees a virtual abandonment of coin use in the highland zone of central England, and the West Midlands, but continued coin use and contacts with the Continent, not just in Kent, but across the south and east. Interestingly for discussion of the question of continuity at the end of Roman Britain, the new finds evidence shows the concentration not in those areas which according to archaeologists remained initially in the hands of the Romano-British, but in the areas which were first conquered and settled by the Anglo-Saxons (see above, p. 56).

Thirdly, both the chronological and geographical distribution indicate a widespread familiarity with coinage in several of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by the early seventh century. That provides a context for the coin deposits from Sutton Hoo and Crondall, but it also provides a context for the shift to locally produced coinage. This is important as most of the early Anglo-Saxon coinage lacks literate inscriptions, and is thus difficult to attribute to particular kingdoms with certainty. The plausibility of individual kingdoms beginning to issue coins is enhanced considerably if they were already using imported coinage. We can now see that in addition to the obvious example of Kent, that there was extensive coin use across East Anglia, and in the kingdom or sub-kingdom of Lindsey. On a slightly lesser scale we see coin use in Deira, the southern of the two main kingdoms which formed the larger kingdom of Northumbria, and in the kingdom of the East Saxons, and on a reduced scale again in the northern Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia, in the kingdom of the South Saxons, and in the various petty kingdoms of the Middle Angles. By contrast we see little use of coinage in the kingdom of the West Saxons, and virtually none in the heartland of Mercia. We shall return to these factors when we consider the distribution and attribution of the Anglo-Saxon coins themselves in Part two of this paper in the next volume of the *Journal*.

APPENDIX. REVISED LIST OF IMPORTED GOLD COINS, c.410–675, WITH CONCORDANCE TO PREVIOUS LISTS

TABLE 2. Hoards containing imported coins minted 410–675

Note. Hoard is defined here simply as two or more coins found in association, and therefore not single finds. Nothing is implied about the purpose of deposition by inclusion in the list. No. 15, Horndean, has been published as a hoard, but may represent single finds from a productive site, or even false reporting. Doubt has also been expressed as to whether the coins from Sarre (no. 10) come from a single deposit, as other coin pendants are recorded from the same cemetery. See fuller discussion of both groups in Bland and Loriot forthcoming. Cross-references to the listings of hoards in Abdy and Williams 2006, Rigold 1975 and Bland and Loriot forthcoming are provided.

No.	County	Findspot	Summary of contents	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	Bland and Loriot	Grave deposit Yes/No	Date of deposition or tpq
1	Sussex	Patching	1 denarius, 23 solidi, 3 miliarense, 23 siliquae, 2 gold rings, 50 pieces of hack-silver	H1	—	569	N	tpq 470
2	Norfolk	Oxborough	1 denarius, 1 solidus, 1 tremissis (all mounted/ pierced for suspension), 1 piece of hack-silver	H2	—	445	?	tpq 475
3	Surrey	Kingston-on- Thames	10+ tremisses	H3	3–12	860	N	c.530?

No.	County	Findspot	Summary of contents	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	Bland and Loriot	Grave deposit Yes/No	Date of deposition or tpq
4	Kent	Chatham Lines	3 siliquae (all pierced), one bronze coin (details unrecorded)	H4	43a	—	Y	c.530–40
5	Kent	Canterbury (St Martin's)	1 solidus, 3–4 tremisses, 1 ‘medalet’, 1 gold pseudo-coin (all looped)	H5	16, 46, 65, 73, 77, 115	789	Y	c.600–30
6	Kent	Faversham	6 tremisses (all looped)	H6 66, 69, 78	48–9, 51,	799–801	Y	c.600
7	Essex	Prittlewell	2 tremisses	H7	—	—	N	c.600–30
8	Essex	Chipping Ongar	2 tremisses	H8	—	—	N	c.600–30
9	Essex	Birch	2 tremisses	—	—	—	N	c.600–30
10	Kent	Sarre	4 solidi (looped), plus other jewellery	H9	54, 56, 58–9	809, 810, 865	Y	c.615–30
11	Suffolk	Sutton Hoo	37 tremisses, 3 blank tremisses, 3 gold ingots	H10	—	—	Y	c.610–40
12	Hants.	Crondall	101(+) tremisses, plus remains of gold purse fittings	H11	—	858	N	c.640
13	Kent	Sibertswold	2 tremisses (looped), with other pendants	H12	85, 98	—	Y	tpq c.650
14	Kent	Finglesham	1 solidus, 1 Anglo-Saxon tremissis	H14	62, 132	—	Y	c.670
15	Hants.	Horndean	4 solidi	H15	—	859, 867	N	c.670–85

TABLES 3–5. Single finds of imported coins found in the British Isles

Note. Tables 3–5 present a revised and expanded list of the imported gold coins found in the British Isles. In Table 3, imperial and pseudo imperial issues are listed together chronologically by ruler, then alphabetically by county and findspot. Other rulers are listed chronologically at the end. Table 4 lists Merovingian mint-and-moneyer issues, arranged in alphabetical order by mint and moneyer. Table 5 lists the Frisian coins (by type) and imported gold coins of uncertain type. The coins have been assigned a single running number, and cross references have been supplied to the earlier listings in Abdy and Williams 2006, Rigold 1975, the EMC and PAS databases, and to Bland and Loriot forthcoming. Cross-references to coins from the hoards listed in Table 2 are given in italics. The following abbreviations are used:

Denomination. S = solidus, T = tremissis, Sil = siliqua, D = drachm
 Secondary treatment. L = looped, M = mounted, P = pierced

TABLE 3. Finds of gold and silver imperial, pseudo imperial and regal coins (excluding hoards), c.410–675.

No.	Ruler	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	EMC	PAS	Bland and Loriot
1	Constantine III	Sil	—	Kent	Richborough	52	—	—	RICX- 1538	—
2	Jovinus	S	—	Kent	Ashford	53	—	—	KENT- DEF360	259
3	Honorius (pseudo-Imperial)	S	—	Kent	Richborough	114	—	—	—	324
4	Theodosius II	S	—	London	Camden	—	—	—	—	383
5	Theodosius II	S	—	Kent	Richborough	—	—	—	—	325
6	Theodosius (pseudo-Imperial)	S	—	Norfolk	Winterton	55	—	1994. 0105	—	—
7	Valentinian III	T	—	Cambs.	Barrington	256	—	—	—	33
8	Valentinian III (Pseudo-imperial)	S	P	Essex	Castle Hedingham	6	—	—	—	153
9	Valentinian III (Pseudo-imperial)	T	—	IOW	Seaview	117	—	—	—	254
10	Valentinian III (Pseudo-imperial)	S	—	Kent	Higham	115	—	—	KENT- 2452	274

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No.	Ruler	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findsport	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	EMC	PAS	Bland and Loriot
11	Valentinian III (Pseudo-imperial)	S	—	Kent	Uncertain	141	—	1992. 0209	RICX- 3715	330
12	Valentinian III (Pseudo-imperial)	S	—	Suffolk	Bury St Edmunds	—	—	—	—	533
13	Valentinian III (Pseudo-imperial)	S	—	Sussex	Chichester	116	—	—	—	566
14	Valentinian III	S	—	Warw.	Tatton, Tredington	257	—	—	—	580
15	Avitus	S	—	Kent	Hoo	62	36a	—	—	275
16	Avitus	S	—	Kent	Ash	63	—	—	KENT- 3419	257
17	Majorian	S	—	IOW	Carisbrooke	118	—	—	—	249
18	Libius Severus (pseudo-imperial)	S	—	IOW	Carisbrooke	108	—	—	—	250
19	Libius Severus (pseudo-imperial)	S	—	Kent	Minster	119	—	—	—	279
20	Libius Severus (pseudo-imperial)	S	—	Kent	Sittingbourne	120	23	—	—	327
21	Libius Severus or Zeno (pseudo-imperial)	T	—	Kent	Canterbury (Marlowe Theatre)	121	—	—	—	262
22	Libius Severus (Visigothic)	T	P (×9)	Kent	Chapel le Ferne	—	—	—	LON- 1C22F5	884
23	Anthemius, Germanic imitation	S	P	Durham	Piercebridge	7	—	1986. 8334	—	85
24	Leo I	S	—	Kent	‘East Kent’	64	21	1982. 9013	RICX- 605	269
25	Leo I	T	—	Kent	Richborough	65	22	—	—	326
26	Julius Nepos	S	—	Essex	Wickford	66	—	—	RICX- 3244	179
27	Julius Nepos	S	L	Kent	Ash	14	24	—	—	258
28	Zeno	S	—	Uncertain	Probably not British find	—	—	—	—	772
29	Anastasius	S?	L	Essex	Little Burstead	—	—	—	ESS- 10F463	883
30	Anastasius (Gallic)	S	L	Hants.	Cheriton	15	—	1995. 0061	—	782
31	Anastasius	S	—	IOW	Shorwell	—	—	—	—	—
32	Anastasius (Gallic)	S	—	IOW	Shorwell	—	—	—	IOW- D7CB55	785
33	Anastasius	? —	—	Kent	Canterbury	—	—	—	—	791
34	Anastasius	S	—	Kent	Eastry	—	—	1996. 0266	—	796
35	Anastasius (Visigothic)	T	L	Kent	Worth	—	—	2007. 0274	KENT- C37138	816
36	Anastasius	S	—	Leics.	?	—	—	—	—	820
37	Anastasius (Merovingian)	T	—	Norfolk	Uncertain	—	—	2005. 0104	—	834
38	Anastasius	T	(M)	Norfolk or N. Suffolk	Uncertain	—	—	—	—	835
39	Anastasius	T	—	Suffolk	Coddenham	67	—	2001. 0014	MIBE- 12	838
40	Anastasius	S	—	Sussex	East Sussex	—	—	—	—	845
41	Anastasius/ Justinian	T	—	Kent	Canterbury	144	39	—	—	794
42	Justin I	S	—	Essex	Colchester	68	1	1975. 7001	MIBE- 3	775
43	Justin I (Visigothic)	T	—	Essex	Jaywick/ Clacton	124 and 146	41	—	—	778
44	Justin I	T	—	Essex	Uncertain	70	—	—	—	779

No.	Ruler	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	EMC	PAS	Bland and Loriot
45	Justin I	T	—	Kent	Ash	—	—	—	?	787
46	Justin I (Visigothic)	T	—	Kent	Northbourne	123 and 145	40	—	—	806
47	Justin I	S	—	Norfolk	Wiverton	—	—	—	NMS- 14E85	833
48	Justin I	T	M?L	Yorks.	Uncertain	16	—	2004. 0205	—	850
49	Justin I or Justinian (Gallic)	T	—	Lincs.	Cleethorpes	138	—	2003. 0135	—	825
50	Justin I or Justinian (Alemannic)	T	—	Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	—	—	2000. 0533	—	824
51	Justin I or Justin II	S	—	Kent	Richborough	69	2	—	MIBE- 3	807
52	Justinian I (Visigothic)	T	P	Kent	Ash	8	38	1982. 9014	—	786
53	Justinian I (Burgundian or Merovingian)	T	—	Kent	Ashford	127	—	2004. 0007	—	788
54	Justinian I (Burgundian)	T	—	Kent	Canterbury	250	32	1986. 8373	—	792
55	Justinian I (Alemannic)	T	L	Kent	Canterbury St Martin's	H5	46	—	—	790
56	Justinian I	T	—	Kent	'East Kent'	73	14	—	—	817
57	Justinian I (Gallic)	T	—	Kent	'East Kent'	125	29	—	—	818
58	Justinian I (pseudo-Imperial)	T	—	Kent	Eastry	143	37	—	—	—
59	Justinian I	T	—	Kent	Eastry	—	—	1996. 0266	—	797
60	Justinian I (Frisian?)	T	—	Kent	Higham	140	36	—	—	803
61	Justinian I	T	L	Kent	Sarre	21	—	1990. 0165	—	811
62	Justinian I	S	—	Kent	Ozengell Grange, nr Ramsgate	71	13	—	—	808
63	Justinian I (Gallic)	T	—	Kent	Tankerton	126	31	1974. 0002	—	815
64	Justinian I (Alemannic)	T	—	Kent	Sturry	149	45	—	—	813
65	Justinian I (Alemannic)	T	—	Kent	Sutton by Dover	148	44	—	—	814
66	Justinian I (Merovingian)	T	—	Kent	Kent	—	—	2009. 0321	—	—
67	Justinian I	S	—	Lincs.	Riby	—	—	—	NLM- 400892	823
68	Justinian I	S	—	Pembs.	Tenby	72	—	—	—	851
69	Justinian I (Visigothic)	T	M, L	Suffolk	Bloodmoor Hill	20	42	1758. 0001	—	837
70	Justinian I (Visigothic)	T	—	Suffolk	Coddenham	142	—	1990. 0164	—	839
71	Justinian I	T	—	Yorks.	Temple Newsam	74	15	—	—	849
72	Justinian I ? (Burgundian)	T	—	Yorks.	York	137	34	—	—	846
73	Justinian I (Visigothic/ Gallic)	T	—	Yorks.	York	—	—	2008. 025	—	847
74	Justin II (Gallic)	T	—	Essex	Jaywick	130	30	—	—	778

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No.	Ruler	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	EMC	PAS	Bland and Loriot
75	Justin II	T	—	Essex	Uncertain	128	—	1998. 0006	—	780
76	Justin II	T	L	Kent	Canterbury St Martin's	H5	46	—	—	789
77	Justin II	T	L	Kent	Dover (Buckland)	29	35	—	—	795
78	Justin II (Provencal)	S	M, L	Kent	Faversham	22	47	—	—	798
79	Justin II (Provencal)	T	L	Kent	Faversham	H6	49	—	—	800
80	Justin II (Gallic)	T	—	Kent	Kemsing	131	—	—	KENT- A936A7	804
81	Justin II (Burgundian)	T	—	Kent	'East Kent'	136	33	—	—	819
82	Justin II ? (Gallic)	T	—	Lincs.	Market Rasen	—	—	2007. 0209 = 2008.0035	—	822
83	Justin II (Provencal)	T	—	Suffolk	Coddenham	129	—	1990. 1290	—	840
84	Justin II	—	—	Suffolk	Southwold	—	—	1983. 0001	—	841
85	Justin II	S	—	Uncertain	—	—	—	—	—	852
86	Justin II or Tiberius II (Provencal)	T	L	Kent	Faversham	H6	48	—	—	799
87	Tiberius II	S	—	IOW	Shalfleet	—	—	—	IOW- 5B4395	783
88	Tiberius II	S	M, L	Norfolk	Northwold	—	—	—	—	830
89	Maurice Tiberius	S	P	Bucks.	Aylesbury	—	—	—	—	773
90	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	T	—	Essex	Chelmsford	133	—	2001. 1063	—	774
91	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	—	Essex	Hawkwell	134	—	—	—	776
92	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	M	Essex	Essex/ Suffolk border	37	—	2000. 0110	—	843
93	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	T	P	Gloucs.	Naunton	9	—	1999. 0001	WMID- 265	781
94	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	T	—	Kent	Ham	132	—	2001. 0950	—	802
95	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	T	L	Kent	Faversham	H6	51	—	—	801
96	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	L	Kent	Sarre	H9	54	—	—	809
97	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	L	Kent	Sarre	H9	56	—	—	810
98	Maurice Tiberius	S	L	Kent	Selling	?	—	—	KENT- EF4810	812
99	Maurice Tiberius	S	L	London	Rainham	23	52	—	—	827
100	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	M, L	Norfolk	Bacton	27	55	—	—	828

No.	Ruler	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	EMC	PAS	Bland and Loriot
101	Maurice Tiberius? (Frankish)	T	—	Norfolk	Brancaster	135	—	2001. 1302	—	—
102	Maurice Tiberius	S	—	Oxon.	Dorchester on Thames	75	17	—	—	836
103	Maurice Tiberius	T	—	Suffolk	Woodbridge	—	—	—	—	—
104	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	T	L	Sussex	Salehurst and Robertsbridge	—	—	—	KENT- 8	844
105	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	M, L	Uncertain		24	53	—	—	854
106	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	—	Uncertain		25	50	—	—	853
107	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	M, L	Uncertain		26	—	—	—	855
108	Maurice Tiberius (Provencal)	S	—	Uncertain		—	—	1998. 0030	—	856
109	Phocas	T	—	Uncertain		—	—	—	—	857
110	Phocas	T	—	Suffolk	Uncertain	—	—	—	—	842
111	Phocas	S	—	Yorks., N	Bossall	—	—	—	NCL- 6A6EF5	848
112	Heraclius (Provencal)	S	L	Kent	Sarre	H?	58	—	—	865
113	Heraclius (Provencal)	S	(L)	Oxon.	Boar's Hill	28	57	—	—	864
114	Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine	(S)	—	Suffolk	Ingham	—	—	—	DUR- EBAF01	888
115	Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine	S	M,L	Norfolk	Wilton (Hockwold cum Wilton)	17	18	—	—	861
116	Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine	S	M,L	Kent	'East Kent'	18	19	1982. 9015	—	862
117	Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine	S	L	Uncertain		19	20	—	—	863
118	Uncertain (Visigothic)	T	—	IOW	Shalfleet	—	—	—	IOW- 715794	784
119	Uncertain Gallic	T	—	Kent	Lympne	139	—	—	—	805
120	Uncertain Gallic (Visigothic)	T	—	London	London, St Peter's Hill	175	—	1991. 0201	—	826
121	Uncertain Gallic (Visigothic)	T	L	Norfolk	Little Walsingham	46	—	2003. 0001	—	829
122	Uncertain Gallic	T	P	Norfolk	Thetford	10	—	2001. 1153	—	832
123	Uncertain (Lombardic)	T	—	Yorks.	Sheffield	151	26	—	—	—
124	Theodoric, imitating Anastasius	S	L	Norfolk	Reepham	—	—	—	—	821

No.	Ruler	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findsport	Abdy and Williams	Rigold	EMC	PAS	Bland and Loriot
125	Merovingian copy of Theodoric, imitating Anastasius	S	T	Norfolk	'Norfolk'	—	—	2005.0104	—	—
126	Gondemar II	T	—	Norfolk	Congham	147	—	1998.0085	—	—
127	Theodobert I	T	—	Kent	Ash	152	27	—	—	—
128	Theodobert I	T	—	Middlx	Pinner	153	28	—	—	—
129	Chlotar II	S	L	Kent?	Anglo-Saxon grave.	31	9	1982.9016	—	—
130	Chlotar II	S	L	Notts.	East Kent? Balderton	32	61	—	—	—
131	Chlotar II	S	L	E. Anglia?	Balderton	33	—	1990.0166	—	—
132	Dagobert	S	M, L	Surrey	Merton	34	64	—	—	—
133	Clovis II	T	—	Kent	Reculver	154	83	—	—	—
134	Sigebert III	S	L	Suffolk	Ipswich	35	—	—	—	—
135	Chosroes (Khusrow) I	D	—	Anglesey		253	—	—	—	—
136	Chosroes (Khusrow) I	D	—	Sussex	Winchelsea	252	—	—	—	—

TABLE 4. Merovingian mint-and-moneyer issues

No.	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findsport	Abdy Wms	Rigold	EMC	PAS
2.5	AGENNO (Agen)				Kent	St-Martin's	H5	65	—	—
2.6	AGENNO				Kent	Faversham	H6	66	—	—
137	ARGENTON	Emerio	T		Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	236	—	2000.0069	—
138	ARVERNUS (Clermont-Ferrand)	Uncertain	T		Norfolk	Brancaster	135 and 155	—	2001 1302	—
139	AVRELIANVM (Orleans)	Uncertain	T		Uncertain	—	—	—	2006.0301	—
140	BAIOC	Allacius	T		E. Anglia	East Anglia	—	—	2007.0292	—
141	BANACIACO (Banassac)	Uncertain	T		Kent	Hollingbourne	156	—	2001 0561	—
142	BELLOFAETO (Beaufay)	Fredomundus	T		Co. Meath	Near Trim	157	66a	—	—
143	BELLOMO	Uncertain	T		Suffolk	Rendlesham	—	—	2009.0093	—
144	BELLOMONT	Uncertain	T		York	York, near	—	—	2009.0328	—
145	BETORGAS (Bourges)	Mummolos	T		Leics.	Market Harborough, near	—	—	2007.0083 LEIC-60	6BA
146	BLANGVICO (Blangy-sur-Ternoise)	Uncertain	T		Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	158	—	1998.0022	—
147	BODESIO VICO (Vic-sur-Meuille)	Madelinus	T		Suffolk	Bury St Edmunds	159	67	—	—
148	BODESIO VICO	Waltechramnus	T				160	—	—	—
149	BRIODURUM (Brieully-sur-Meuse)	Audomlus	T		Gloucs.	Bourton-on-the-Water	161	67a	1986.8490	—
150	BRIOSSO (Brioux)	Chadulfus	T	P	City of London	Thames spoil: Billingsgate	162	—	1989.006	—

No.	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy	Rigold	EMC	PAS
							W'ms			
151	BRIVATE (Brioude)	possibly copying Manileobus	T		Kent?		163	68	—	—
152	BRIVATE	Mariulfus	T		Kent	Kent	—	—	2005. 0152	—
153	BURDIGALIS (Bordeaux)	Seggelenus	T		Kent	Kent	—	—	2008. 0033	—
154	CABILONNO (Chalons-sur-Saône)	Bonifacius	T		Uncertain	Uncertain	164	—	1990. 1291	—
155	CABILONNO	Emmes	T		Norfolk	Thetford	165	—	1998. 0042	—
156	CABILONNO	Wintrio	T		Essex	Southminster	166	—	1986. 0201	—
157	CABILONNO	Wintrio	T		Norfolk	Banham	—	—	2009. 0015 and 1998. 0098	—
158	CAMBIDONNO (Campbon)	Francio	T	L	Kent	Faversham	167	69	—	—
159	CANNACO (Cannac)	Uncertain	T		Lincs.	‘Lincs.’	168	—	1998. 004	—
160	CATOLACO (St Denis)	Ebrigelsus	T	M?	Kent	Rochester, near	43	—	1989. 0061	—
161	CENNOMANNIS (Le Mans)	Mellio	T		Co. Leix	Near Portlaoghise (Maryborough)	169	70	—	—
162	CHOAE (Huy)	Bertoaldus	T		Northum- berland	Kirk Newton (Old Yeavering)	170	71	—	—
163	CHOAE	Bertoaldus	T		Kent	Isle of Sheppey	171	—	1989. 0059	—
164	CHOAE	Bertoaldus	T		Norfolk	Holme next the Sea	—	—	2006. 019	—
165	CIVITATE GAVALORVM (Javouls)	Uncertain	T		Cambs.	Stapleford, near	172	—	2003. 0152	—
166	CLIMVNIV (?)	Ansulis	T		Kent	Birchington	230	102	—	—
167	COLONIA (Köln-am-Rhein)	Guacamares	T		Kent	Swalecliffe (on beach)	173	72	—	—
168	COLONIA	Uncertain	T		Cambs.	Stapleford, near	174	—	2003. 0056	—
2.5	CONBENAS (St Bertrand de Comminges)				Kent	St-Martin's	H5	73	—	—
169	CORMA (?)	Gundric	T		City of London	St Peter's Hill excavation	175	—	1991. 0201	—
170	DARANTASIA (Moutiers- tarantaise)	Optatus	T		Norfolk	Near Diss	176	74	1986. 8411	—
171	DORESTATE (Dorestad)	Madelinus	T		Norfolk	‘Norfolk’	177	—	2003. 0173	—
172	DORESTATE	Madelinus	T		Yorks.	‘North Yorkshire’	178	—	2004. 0008	—
173	DORESTATE	Madelinus	T		Suffolk	Rendlesham	—	—	2009. 025	—
174	DORESTATE	Madelinus	T		Norfolk	Foulsham	—	—	2006. 035	—
175	DORESTATE	Madelinus	T		Lincs.	Dry Doddington	—	—	2002. 0292	—
176	DORESTATE	Madelinus	T	P	E. Anglia?	Uncertain	11	75	—	—
177	DORESTATE	Madelinus	T	P	Yorks.	Pontefract	12	76	—	—

No.	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy W'ms	Rigold	EMC	PAS
178	DORESTATE	Rimoaldus	T		N. Yorks.	Cawood	—	—	—	SWYOR-B5O2C5
179	HELORONE (Oloron)	Uncertain	T	L	Kent	Canterbury	41	77	—	—
2.6	<i>LEXSOVIAS</i> (<i>Lisieux</i>)				Kent	Faversham	H6	78	—	—
180	LOCO SANCTO (Lieusaint-en-brie)	Dagoaldus	T		Kent	Folkestone	179	79	1913. 0002	—
181	LOCO SANCTO	Dagoaldus	T		Kent	Folkestone	180	80	1913. 0003	—
182	LOCO SANCTO	Dagoaldus	T		Kent	Folkestone	181	81	—	—
183	LOCO SANCTO	Dagoaldus	T		Lincs.	Lincs., near	182	82	1980. 0012 and 1975. 0082	—
184	LOCO SANCTO	Dagoaldus	T		Hounslow	Heston	183	—	1989. 0058	—
185	MALLO CAMPIONE (?)	Landilino	T		Notts.	Newark, near	—	—	2008. 0316	—
186	MARCILIACIO	Odmundus	T		Kent	possibly Dover	184	84	—	—
2.13	<i>MARSALLO</i> (<i>Marsal</i>)					Sibertswold Down	H12	85	1982. 9018	—
187	MARSALLO	Landoaldus	T		Medway	Rochester, south of	185	—	2001. 0017	—
188	MARSALLO	Gisloaldus	T		Uncertain		186	—	1998. 0086	—
189	MARSALLO	Oitadenus	T		Kent	Reculver	154	83	—	—
190	MARSALLO	Uncertain	S		Kent	Kent	—	—	2005. 0212	—
191	MARSALLO	Uncertain	S	L	Kent?		31	60	1982. 9016	—
192	MARSALLO	Uncertain	S	L	Notts.	Balderton	32	61	—	—
193	MARSALLO	Uncertain	S		E. Anglia?		33	—	1990. 0166	—
194	MELDUS (Meaux)	Bettonus	T		N. Yorks.	Borrowly	—	—	—	NCL- 674AC1
195	MELINUS (St Melaine)	Uncertain	T		Norfolk	Watton	187	—	1998. 0021	—
196	METTIS (Metz)	Theudelenus	T	M	Kent	Higham Upshire	39	—	2003. 0222	—
197	METTIS	Anoaldus	T		Surrey	Brockham	188	86	—	—
198	METTIS	Audoaldus	T		Bromley	Farnborough	189	—	1987. 0035	—
199	METTIS	Theudelenus	T		Lincs.	Riby	190	—	1998. 0001	—
200	METTIS	Theudelenus	T		Kent	Higham Upshire	—	—	2003. 0222	—
201	METTIS	Theudelenus	T	L	Uncertain		38	87	—	—
202	MOGVNTIACVM	Martinus	T		Lincs.	South Lincs., productive site	191	—	2001. 0895	—
203	MOSOMO (Mouzon)	Theodamarus	T		Suffolk	Friston, near	—	—	2009. 0010	SF- EB1217
204	NENTERACO (Nitry)	Uncertain	T		Essex	Prittlewell	—	—	—	—
205	NENTERACO	Uncertain	T		Kent	Littlebourne	192	88	—	—
206	ODOMO (Chateau Thierry?)	Wulfolenus	T		Essex	Cranham	193	—	1987. 0032	—
207	ORIONE (?)	Uncertain	T		Kent	Reculver	194	89	—	—
208	PALACIOLO (Palaiseau)	Domolenus	T		Kent	Reculver, productive site	195	90	1986. 8465	—
209	PALACIOLO (Pfalzel)	Domogiselus	T		Essex	Probably Waltham	196	91	—	—

No.	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy W'ms	Rigold	EMC	PAS
210	PALACIOLO	Uncertain	T		Norfolk	Caistor-by-Norwich / Caistor St Edmund	197	—	1989. 9002	—
211	PARISIUS (Paris)	Audegiselus	T		Kent	Herne Bay (possibly Reculver)	198	92	—	—
212	PARISIUS	Eligius	T		Kent	Faversham (Simpson's Oast)	199	93	—	—
213	PARISIUS	Eligius	T		Kent	Wingham	—	—	2007. 0272	—
214	PLATILIACO (Plailly)	Deairenasea	T		Essex	Great Bromley	—	—	2007. 0069	—
215	PETRAFITTA (Pierrefitte)	Vinoaldo	T		Suffolk	Rendlesham	—	—	2009. 0125	—
216	REMVS (Rheims)	Felcharius	T		Northants.	Desborough	200	—	1996. 0059	—
217	REMVS	Filamarius	T		Kent	Whitstable	201	—	2004. 0076	—
218	ROTVMVS (Rouen)	Aigoaldus	T		Oxon.	Knighton	202	-	1988. 0100 and 1989. 9003	—
219	RVTENIS (Rodez)	Vendemius	T	L	Kent	Ash (near Sandwich)	40	—	1994. 0111	—
220	RVTENIS	Vendemius	T	L	Kent	Sandwich	203	—	1995. 0064	—
221	RVTENIS	Vendemius	T		Kent	Eastry, productive site	204	—	2001. 0813	—
222	RVTENIS	Rosolus	T		Wilts.	Wiltshire	—	—	2007. 0084	—
223	SAREBURGO (Sarrebourg)	Bobo	T		Suffolk	Probably Felixstowe (Walton Castle)	205	94	—	—
224	SAXEBACIO (?)	Ciungilinus	T		Kent	Rainham (Lower Rainham)	206	95	—	—
225	SAXEBACIO	Uncertain	T		Kent	Rainham	207	—	1986. 8499	—
226	SEDUNIS (Sion)	Gratus	T		Wilts.	Near Devizes	208	96	—	—
227	SEDUNIS	Betto	T		Lincs.	Irby-upon-Humber	209	—	2001. 0847	—
228	STADVNSEPI (?)	Wulchramnus	T		Notts.	Collingham	—	—	2005. 0189	—
229	SVLIACO (?)	Aleopus/ Opusale	T		Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	—	—	2004. 0188	LIN-B70DC6
230	TEODERIACO (Trizay-sur-le-Lay)	Teodiricus	T		Kent	Broadstairs (Bradstow School cemetery, grave 55)	210	95a	—	—
231	TIDIRICIACO (Thiré)	Aegulfus	T		Kent	Whitstable	—	—	—	KENT-E1FA56
232	TIDIRICIACO	Gundobodus	T		Uncertain		211	—	2004. 003	—
233	TRIECTO (Maastricht)	Uncertain	T	M, L	Kent	Ash (near Sandwich)	36	—	1996. 0060	—
234	TRIECTO	Thrasemundus	T		Lincs.	South Lincs., productive site	212	—	2003. 0161	—
235	TRIECTO	Domaricus	T		Lincs.	South Lincs., productive site	213	—	2001. 0848	—
236	VIENNA VICO (Vienne-en-Val)	Vivatus	T		Norfolk	Watton	214	—	2003. 0042	—

No.	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy W'ms	Rigold	EMC	PAS
237	VIENNA VICO	Gundomarus	T	L	Surrey		44	97	—	—
2.13	VIRDUNO (Verdun)		T			Sibertswold Down	H12	98	1982. 9017	—
238	VIRONIO.M (Noyen?)	Visionius	T		Kent	Reculver	232	104	—	—
239	VVICCO (Quentovic)	Dagulfus	T		Kent	Birchington	215	99	—	—
240	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Derbyshire		216	100	—	—
241	VVICCO	Dagulfus	T		Kent	West Hythe	—	—	1970. 2127	KENT- 1850
242	VVICCO	Ela	T		Lincs.	Caistor-on- the-Wolds, near	218	—	1996. 0058	—
243	VVICCO	Ela	T		Kent		219	—	—	—
244	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Kent	Great Mongeham, near Deal	220	—	1993. 0136	—
245	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Suffolk	Kelsale-cum- Carlton	221	—	1994. 011	—
246	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Kent	Minster, on Sheppey	222	—	1988. 0101	—
247	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Norfolk	Holme next the Sea	223	—	1999. 018	—
248	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Kent	Great Mongeham, near Deal	224	—	2002. 0288	—
249	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Lincs.	South Lincs., productive site	225	—	1970. 1131	—
250	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Norfolk	Congham	226	—	1994. 0109	—
251	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Lincs.	Sleaford, near	227	—	1998. 0041	—
252	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Kent	Thanet	228	—	—	—
253	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Suffolk	Barham	229	—	—	—
254	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Cambs.	'Cambridge- shire'	—	—	2007. 017	—
255	VVICCO	Dutta	T		Lincs.	Nettleton	—	—	2009. 0011	—
256	VVICCO	Anglus	T		Norfolk	Postwick	—	—	2009. 0236	—
257	VVICCO	Dutta	T	M	Suffolk	Aldeburgh	42	101	1840. 0001	—
258	VVICO PONTIO (?)	Daculfus	T		Suffolk	Barham, near Ipswich	—	—	2005. 0102	—
259	VIVA (Viviers)	Uncertain	T		Cambs.	'Cambridge- shire'	—	—	2006. 0161	—
260	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Cambs.	Great Shelford	—	—	2006. 0219	—
261	Uncertain	Protadius	T	P	Cambs.	Stapleford, near	238	—	2003. 0055	—
262	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Essex	'Essex'	—	—	2008. 0034	—
263	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Essex	Southend, near	—	—	2007. 0085	—
264	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Essex/ Herts. border	-	—	—	2005. 0041	—
265	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Herts.	Ware, near	—	—	2007 0002	—
266	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Kent	Canterbury	250	32	—	—
267	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Kent	Cliffe	—	—	2007. 0267	—
268	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Kent	Near Rochester	231	103	—	—

No.	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy	Rigold	EMC	PAS
							W'ms			
269	Uncertain	Telafius	T		Kent	Between Sandwich and Dover	239	—	2003. 0058 and 1998. 0084	—
270	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	—	—	2004. 0192	LIN-B72977
271	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	—	—	—	LIN-DDE216
272	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		London	London (St Peter's Hill excavation)	—	—	1991. 0200	—
273	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		London		233	105	—	—
274	Uncertain	Uncertain	T	M	Norfolk	Great or Little Walsingham	46	—	2003. 0001	—
275	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Norfolk	Ormesby, near	—	—	2007. 0144	—
276	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Norfolk	West Acre (parish)	234	—	1987. 0033	—
277	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Norfolk	'Norfolk'	—	—	2004. 0163	—
278	Uncertain (Arvernus?)	Aribaudus	T		Suffolk	Akenham	235	—	2003. 0212	—
279	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Suffolk	Rendlesham	—	—	2009. 0341	—
280	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Suffolk	Rendlesham	—	—	2009. 0257	—
281	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Suffolk	'Suffolk'	—	—	2009. 0181	—
282	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Surrey	Warlingham	—	—	—	KENT-33C0D2
283	Uncertain	Uncertain	T		Yorks.	Skipton	13	—	1997. 0992	—

TABLE 5. Frisian and uncertain imported coins

No.	Type	Denom.	Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy	Rigold and W'ms	EMC	PAS
284	Dronrijp type	T		Kent	Faversham (King's Field Cemetery)	240	107	—	—
285	Dronrijp type			Lincs.	Ludborough, near	244	—	2001. 0978	—
286	Dronrijp type	T		Lincs.	Riby	243	—	1998. 0043	—
287	Dronrijp type	T		Lincs.	South Lincs., productive site	242	-	2000. 0536	—
288	Dronrijp type	T		Norfolk	Norwich	241	108	—	—
289	Dronrijp type	T		Suffolk	Wetheringsett	—	—	2007. 0291	—
290	Dronrijp type	T	M, L	Uncertain		45	109	—	—
291	Nietap type	T		Derbyshire	Hasland	247	—	1997. 9919	—
292	Nietap type	T		Kent	Hollingbourne (Pilgrims' Way)	248	110	—	—
293	Nietap type	T		Suffolk	Coddenham	245	—	—	—
294	Nietap type	T		Suffolk	Sudbourne	246	—	2004. 0113	SF-F8EA61
295	Nietap type	T		Uncertain		—	—	1990. 1292	—

No.	Type	Denom. Secondary treatment	County	Findspot	Abdy	Rigold and W'ms	EMC	PAS
296	Uncertain	T	E. Anglia	'East Anglia'	—	—	2009. 0016	—
297	Uncertain Merovingian		Kent	Faversham (King's Field Cemetery)	264	114	—	—
298	Uncertain (Frисian?)	T	Kent	Hollingbourne	—	—	1992. 7453	—
299	Uncertain Merovingian		Kent	Lympne (‘near Hythe’)	262	112	—	—
300	Uncertain Merovingian or Frisian		Kent	Lympne (probably Belle Vue cemetery)	263	113	—	—
301	Uncertain	T	Kent	Rochester	—	—	1974. 0001	—
302	Uncertain	T	Kent	'Kent'	—	—	—	—
303	Uncertain	T	Lincs.	Market Rasen, near	—	—	2007. 0209 and 2008. 0035	—
304	Uncertain	T	Lincs.	South Lincs.	—	—	2009. 0021	—
305	Uncertain	T	Lincs.	South Lincs. productive site	—	—	1970. 1065	—
306	Uncertain	T	Norfolk	Bawsey	—	—	2002. 0171	—
307	Uncertain (Frисian?)	T	Yorks.	Malton, near	251	—	2001. 1094	—
308	Uncertain	T	Yorks.	Pontefract	—	—	1913. 0004	—
309	Uncertain	T	E. Yorks.	North Cave	—	—	—	SWYOR- 236F00

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

THE COINAGE OF OFFA REVISITED

RORY NAISMITH

OFFA, king of the Mercians, came to the throne in 757 – an eventful year, which began with the murder of the long-lived King Æthelbald (716–57), and the succession to the Mercian throne of an obscure king named Beornred. But Beornred, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle put it, ‘held [the kingdom] for but a little while and unhappily’,¹ and was put to flight by Offa before the end of the year. The events of Offa’s reign between then and his death on 29 July 796 can be reconstructed on the basis of some forty charters, a series of entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and related historical texts and from an important group of letters associated with the expatriate Northumbrian scholar Alcuin (d. 804).² From these a great deal can be learned: about the expansion of Mercian power across all England south of the Humber save Wessex; about the displacement of old local dynasties which this process necessitated; about interaction between the Mercian court and that of Charlemagne (768–814); and about the practical and ideological foundations of kingship within Offa’s kingdom.

In all this the coinage of Offa’s reign looms unusually large as an historical source, above all because of its departure from earlier monetary norms and its artistic richness,³ but also because of the relative scarcity of written sources pertaining to southern England at this time. Where charters, chronicles and archaeological sources fail, Offa’s pennies potentially provide an important window onto a dynamic and elaborate aspect of the regime.

A major step forward in the understanding of Offa’s coinage has recently been taken with the publication of Derek Chick’s volume *The Coinage of Offa and His Contemporaries*.⁴ This benefits from Mr Chick’s detailed knowledge of the series and offers important insights, including a new typology which covers all surviving specimens known down to late 2006, and will allow future analyses to proceed with considerable confidence. This paper is intended to complement Chick’s volume in two ways. First, it publishes sixty-three new coins of Offa. These are listed (with Chick type numbers) in an Appendix to this article that includes all new specimens which came to light after the Chick catalogue was closed in 2006 (see **Pls 7–8**). Second, it presents the state of knowledge of Offa’s coinage from a numismatic point of view, highlighting certain areas in which the availability of Chick’s catalogue has already allowed new conclusions to be reached or fresh questions put forward, particularly with regard to the Light coinage. After a brief outline of the current understanding of Offa’s coinage, the debates surrounding mint and moneyer attribution will be examined, followed by an exploration of the different types and presentation of some stylistic subgroups which can be identified within the Light coinage. Finally, the relative and absolute chronology of the coinage will be examined in detail.

Numismatic and chronological outline

The coinage of Offa is distinguished from that of the preceding period in two major respects. Most obviously, his silver pennies are substantially broader and thinner than the early pennies

Acknowledgements. Gareth Williams generously provided scans of no. 7 in the Appendix (p. 98), and details of further new finds and acquisitions were given by Keith Chapman, John Cross, Stewart Lyon, William MacKay and others, to all of whom I extend my thanks.

¹ ‘Lytle hwile heold ond unfealice’, A[n]glo-J[S]axon C[hronicle] s.a. 755(=757), ed. Plummer 1892 I, 48–50; trans. Whitelock 1979, 176. For the possible identification of this Beornred with the East Anglian ruler Beonna, see Archibald 2005, 129–30.

² Keynes 2005 provides an up-to-date survey of Offa’s reign and the sources behind it; also important are Campbell *et al.* 1982, 101–28, Stenton 1971, 206–24, Kirby 2000, 134–50 and Story 2003.

³ On the artistic dimensions of Offa’s coinage see Gannon 2003.

⁴ Chick 2010. All type-references to this catalogue here take the form ‘Chick’.

or *sceattas* of the early eighth century, and were modelled on the reformed coinages of Pippin III (751–68) in the kingdom of the Franks and of Beonna (c.749–760?) in East Anglia.⁵ The increased surface area of the new pennies fostered the other key development of Offa's reign: the standard adoption of legends naming king and moneyer. This new information allows much more confident and precise attributions of the coinage than was possible for the largely uninscribed earlier *sceattas* or pennies.

Minting probably took place at three locations under Offa: London, Canterbury and somewhere in East Anglia, possibly Ipswich.⁶ None of these, however, is named, and the emphasis rather seems to have been on the moneyer responsible for production. About forty moneyers are named on the first broad silver pennies struck in the decades down to Offa's death in 796. Most of these worked solely for Offa, but a few other rulers are named on the first new pennies, among them Egbert II (c.764–784?) and Heaberht (fl. c.765), two of the last independent kings of Kent; Æthelberht II (d. 794), king of East Anglia; two archbishops of Canterbury (Jænberht (765–92) and Æthelheard (792–805)); one bishop of London (Eadberht (772×82–787×89)) and, perhaps most surprisingly, Offa's queen, Cynethryth (d. after 798).⁷

The extant output of these kings and moneyers comprises about 800 southern English pennies produced before 796;⁸ a surprisingly high figure given that only one small hoard deposited in Britain during the reign of Offa has ever been recorded.⁹ These 800 include a high proportion of coins which have come to light as single-finds, most of them quite recently thanks to the expansion of metal-detecting. This wealth of single-finds is invaluable material for the study of monetary history,¹⁰ and demonstrates that, through fits and starts, a large and dynamic currency, approaching that of the earlier eighth century in scale, revived in southern England under Offa.¹¹ This data has also provided the raw material for fresh assessment of the numismatic background to the coinage. Answers to such questions as when and where certain types were produced are naturally fundamental to the interpretation of the coinage by other specialists, but are elusive and often debatable in the case of Offa's coinage. In many particulars this and all other outlines must be taken as provisional rather than definitive.

Offa's coinage began in the 760s and 770s with the 'Light coinage',^{11a} based probably on a target weight of c.1.30 g: the same as that of contemporary Frankish coinage. The Light coinage can be sub-divided into two main phases (early and substantive – here designated **phases I** and **II**: see Figs 1a and b) and five sub-phases. A second major reform occurred in 792/3 which established a uniform design at all three mints and a new weight standard of c.1.45 g.¹² This last phase of the coinage is consequently known as the 'Heavy coinage'; it constituted the third main phase of Offa's coinage (here designated **phase III**: see Fig. 1c).



Fig. 1a–c. Chick 6a, 10p and 203a. The three main phases of Offa's coinage: the early issues (c.760/75–c.784/5), the substantive Light coinage (c.784/5–792/3) and the Heavy coinage (792/3–6).

⁵ See Archibald 1985 and *MEC I*, 190–266. On the new physical technique used to make Pippin and Offa's pennies, see Blackburn 1995, 548.

⁶ On the mints of Offa's reign, and alternative suggestions as to their number, see below, pp. 78–80.

⁷ On Cynethryth's political standing see Stafford 2001, 37–40.

⁸ There are also three associated gold coins: Chick 2010, types 1–3 and Blackburn 2007.

⁹ This hoard was found over several years at Aiskew, North Yorkshire, in the 1990s and 2000s, and comprised fourteen pennies of Offa and his contemporaries. Its deposition probably occurred a little after the inception of the substantive Light coinage in c.784/5. Some 'mini-hoards' of two or three pennies of Offa may also have been found in modern times, though these can be difficult to identify with certainty: Metcalf 2009, 10 and 27. It is probable that at least one further hoard of pennies of Offa was discovered at some point before the eighteenth century: Blunt 1961, 52.

¹⁰ On these aspects of the coinage see especially Chick 2005 and Metcalf 2009.

¹¹ Metcalf 2009, 4–6.

^{11a} It has been proposed that Offa's coinage began with *sceattas* in his name, though these should probably be seen as late Merovingian issues: see Chick 2010.

¹² See below, pp. 88–9.

The earliest part of Offa's coinage was very small in scale, and has only come to prominence in the last two decades (**phase Ia**). Yet thanks largely to the research of Derek Chick and Michael Metcalf it has come to provide a relatively fixed point of clarity which, with the Heavy coinage (**phase III**), serves to sandwich the much more problematic substantive Light coinage.¹³ This first segment of the Light coinage was followed by an obscure phase of 'intermediate' coinage (**phase Ib**) struck probably in the late 770s and early 780s. At some point after this initial stage of small-scale production the coinage expanded, probably quite swiftly (if not overnight),¹⁴ into a much more considerable enterprise which, following Derek Chick's usage, I shall term the 'substantive' Light coinage (**phase II**).

The advent of the famous and attractive portrait issues marked the beginning of this substantive Light coinage (though these were produced alongside non-portrait coins throughout phase II). Its emergence is difficult to date and, as will be argued below, probably occurred roughly simultaneously at Canterbury and London in the mid-780s. It can be tentatively divided into three sub-phases: a small initial group characterised by the placement of the moneyer's name on the obverse alongside the portrait (with the king's name, often in abbreviated form, on the reverse) (**phase IIa**); a more substantial group (represented by the Aiskew hoard) which combined the striking artistic quality of the first phase with the placement of the king's name alongside the bust and the relocation of the moneyer's to the reverse (**phase IIb**); and finally a more obscure later phase in which more diverse and often poorer-quality die-cutting styles emerged (**phase IIc**). This threefold division applies in full only to Canterbury and London; the East Anglian mint probably began to produce the substantive Light coinage slightly later, and its products cannot be confidently sub-divided within the substantive Light coinage.

Moneymen and mints in the coinage of Offa

Mints in late eighth-century England

No mints are named on Offa's pennies, but the widely accepted outline of minting under Offa is that his coins belong to three centres: London, Canterbury and somewhere in East Anglia.¹⁵ This bald statement papers over a number of uncertainties, however, the most fundamental of which is what one actually means by 'mint' in the context of eighth-century England. 'Mint' at this stage should be understood as shorthand for 'minting town' – a location at which one or more moneymen were based. To all intents and purposes it appears that each of these moneymen was essentially a mint unto himself. There was probably no centralised mint-building in any of these towns, and every moneyer operated his own separate forge and minting workshop. Although this arrangement is not documented until the eleventh century,¹⁶ it seems to have been widely used in earlier Anglo-Saxon England, and explains many features of the coinage. Just one inter-moneyer die-link has been noted from Offa's reign,¹⁷ for example, and the complex manner in which moneymen interacted with die-cutters suggests that the moneyer – not the mint – was the key unit on which production was based in late eighth-century England.

Nonetheless, it still appears probable that the three minting centres named above were home to most or all of Offa's moneymen. The location of mints at Canterbury and London under Offa is attested by coins naming the bishops of those cities,¹⁸ but dividing Offa's money-

¹³ Chick 1997. Cf. now Metcalf 2009, esp. 8–11.

¹⁴ Ibid., 9, who stresses a more gradual recovery from recession in the period down to this time.

¹⁵ For further recent comments on the number of mints under Offa see *ibid.*, 3 (suggesting the existence of four to five mints); and Williams 2001, 213–15.

¹⁶ Metcalf 2001.

¹⁷ Chick 31a and 43a.

¹⁸ There has in the past been some uncertainty over the attribution of Bishop Eadberht's coins (Lockett 1920, 12; Blunt 1961, 44–5; Metcalf 1988, 241–2; and Williams 2001, 217). But the similarity of the *episcopus* monogram to that used for the same title in bishops' attestations of contemporary documentation strongly suggests that this is the correct interpretation (e.g., Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 158). The extended reading *episcopus Merciorum* might also be possible (Metcalf 2009, 11–12), though London was at this time associated with the East Saxons, not the Mercians; the description *episcopus (provinciae) Merciorum* normally did not function as an honorific and belonged as a matter of course to the bishops of Leicester and Lichfield

ers between them is difficult, and it cannot be ruled out that there were additional mints located elsewhere in the kingdom. Pinning these down is exceedingly problematic, if they existed at all. One might compare the situation in the decades after Offa's death, by which time the pattern of minting activity at a small number of comparatively large east-coast centres is somewhat clearer, thanks in part to occasional mint-signed issues which reveal the locations of mints and the numerous moneyers associated with them. By the early ninth century Canterbury, London and the East Anglian mint had been joined by subsidiary new mints at Rochester and in Wessex, all of which are distinguishable in style and typology.¹⁹ Smaller mints, if they existed, cannot be traced as easily in the time of Offa. This could be explained if their dies were being supplied from workshops elsewhere, and there are certainly precedents for die-cutters from London sometimes supplying moneyers in Canterbury.²⁰ But dies made within the local mint-town remained the norm for most moneyers, and the inconsistency of inter-mint die-movement in Offa's Light coinage meant that dies from London never became a universal feature at Canterbury: locally-made dies of distinct style often had to be used. Occasional local production might have been expected at other mints, but strong traces of this cannot be found.

In the case of the East Anglian mint, however, there are no known episcopal or mint-signed coins, and so even the location or locations of minting remain debatable. In the preceding coinages of early pennies or *sceattas* and of the reign of Beonna (749–c.760) there had been multiple mints in East Anglia – one, the largest, was probably at Ipswich, and two or three smaller ones were in the vicinity of Thetford, northwest Norfolk and on the Norfolk coast.²¹ The diverse East Anglian coinage of Offa may preserve traces of the last gasps of one or more of these subsidiary mints, though these were probably in the process of being phased out in favour of a single bigger mint (Ipswich?) around this time.²² Even quite early in Offa's reign links were already emerging between the styles and designs used by most East Anglian moneyers, which on the model of London and Canterbury probably suggests a single relatively large mint.²³ There may have been a subsidiary mint-place associated with the moneyer Lul, who was solely responsible for Æthelberht II's coinage. Yet Lul was generally associated with a prolific East Anglian die-cutter,²⁴ and there are precedents for complex power-sharing arrangements within larger mint-towns.²⁵ The circumstances of Æthelberht's reign and the coinage by Lul must therefore remain obscure.

By 796 the number of East Anglian moneyers seems to have shrunk slightly, and greater homogeneity prevailed among them in the coinages of Eadwald, Coenwulf and later kings. The East Anglian moneyers at this stage were consistently being supplied by one die-cutter and followed one weight and metal standard,²⁶ and so were most probably based in a single location. There was already substantial consistency between East Anglian moneyers in the

(cf. Page 1966, 3–7). It has not apparently been noted that a second bishop named Eadberht was active at this time, of Leicester (764–781×85). But Leicester was remote from other known centres of minting and coin-use at this time, and while of considerable prominence (Keynes 1993, 24–5) the see was associated with and secondary to that of Lichfield, for which no coins are known. The presence of a mint at London in the early ninth century and the relatively strong southern distribution of the nine known single-finds of Eadberht pennies (seven from Essex or further south) also point towards a more southerly minting place.

¹⁹ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963.

²⁰ And *vice versa* in the case of the gold ‘mancus’ of Coenwulf (EMC 2004.0167) minted c.805–10 with Canterbury-made dies but bearing a London mint-signature. Mobile moneyers who derived most of their dies from these main centres but moved between Canterbury and London, or perhaps other locations, may also be a possibility.

²¹ Metcalf 2000; Archibald 1985, 27–31; and Archibald *et al.* 1995, 4–7.

²² It should be noted that the one moneyer to survive from Beonna's reign into Offa's was associated in the earlier reign with the larger southeastern mint (Ipswich?).

²³ Metcalf 2009, 3 n.9 suggested that Botræd, Eadnoth and Ecbald might represent the moneyers of a second East Anglian mint. The average weight of these moneyers' coins is slightly below average for Offa's Light coinage (a mean and median of 1.14 g and 1.12 g respectively), but the workable sample is extremely small – just five suitable coins, including none of Botræd. For stylistic connections which link these moneyers to other East Anglian moneyers, see below, pp. 86–8; and for further discussion of metrology, p. 82.

²⁴ For Lul's coinage for Offa and Æthelberht see Chick 171–3 and 186. He survived through the reign of Eadwald into the reign of Coenwulf. For discussion see Blunt 1961, 49–50; and MEC I, 281.

²⁵ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 10–11; and MEC I, 288.

²⁶ Naismith forthcoming b.

physical features of weight and fineness under Offa, though these standards were also adhered to by the moneymen of contemporary Canterbury and London.²⁷

In short, definitive conclusions are still lacking on important questions surrounding the number, nature and location of minting towns in Offa's kingdom. The basic problem is reconciling the substantially larger number of mints active earlier in the eighth century with the smaller number – probably just five, including two recently opened mints – evident by c.810.²⁸ Offa's coinage lies at the crux of this transition, and emerged from the aftermath of a major monetary recession in the middle of the eighth century.²⁹ This temporarily decimated the currency, especially in southern England, and helped precipitate several important developments in the form and organisation of minting.³⁰ A contraction in the number of mints to only the leading centres would be more consistent with these changes than with silent re-expansion and closure between c.765–96 as the coinage went from strength to strength.

After c.765, minting was based probably on production in just a few major mint-towns along the eastern seaboard of England, taking full advantage of incoming foreign bullion (the likely source of most silver under Offa).³¹ It was in part for this reason that coinage in general had a relatively slight impact on the western heartland of Mercia itself: its production and circulation were dictated primarily by economic forces rather than the concentration of political power, and hence most coin-use and apparently all mints were situated in the east.³² No coins exist, for example, in the name of Hygeberht, archbishop of Lichfield between 787 and 803,³³ whereas pennies were produced in the names of Bishop Eadberht at London and Offa's erstwhile enemy Archbishop Jænberht at Canterbury, who were presumably reaping the benefit of their cities' importance in economic life.

Mint attributions under Offa

The next and more treacherous step is the division of Offa's moneymen between these three mints. Until the early 1960s all the coins of Offa were thought to have been struck at Canterbury.³⁴ Christopher Blunt then identified the East Anglian group by its distinctive stylistic features and the presence of moneymen who were securely attributed to East Anglia under other rulers.³⁵ It was this moneymen-based approach which would, in the 1980s, allow Lord Stewartby to distinguish the coins of London from those of Canterbury.³⁶ In an important article on the mint attribution of Offa's moneymen,³⁷ he saw that the way forward was to begin by isolating those individuals who could be decisively linked to a specific mint by activity under other rulers whose power was restricted to just one known mint. The moneymen who can be attributed in this way are provisionally listed as 'very probable' in Table 1 below. These, however, only account for a portion of Offa's moneymen, and other moneymen must be attributed by different means. In the case of East Anglia, strong characteristics such as more localised circulation and the use of runes make attribution of the relevant moneymen comparatively straightforward.³⁸

²⁷ See below, p. 82.

²⁸ Metcalf 1993 III, 300 suggests twenty mints for the *sceattas*. However, it should be noted that a small group of leading mints probably accounted for a high proportion of the currency, among them the mints which can be traced with confidence after Offa's reform (Metcalf 2009, 4).

²⁹ Metcalf 2009, 12–22.

³⁰ Cf. Naismith forthcoming c.

³¹ Metcalf and Northover 1989, 105–6. Cf. now Metcalf 2009, 18.

³² Naismith forthcoming d.

³³ Notwithstanding some earlier efforts to identify the issues of the moneymen Heaberht as his: Blunt 1961, 46. For a possible explanation of Bishop Eadberht's exceptional coinage from around this time as an attempt by Offa to win his favour, see Metcalf 1963, 39.

³⁴ E.g., Lockett 1920, 66–7 and *BMC* II, xxii.

³⁵ Blunt 1961, 49–50.

³⁶ Note that Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 6–7 and Lyon 1967, 219–21 had already proposed the existence of a London mint under Offa.

³⁷ Stewart 1986.

³⁸ Others besides the five linked moneymen who can be associated with East Anglia include Eadberht, Ecbald, Ecghun and Oethelred (Chick 163, 166–7, 168–70, 174–7 and 250).

At London and Canterbury, however, it is not so easy to separate the products of the two mints, which share many affinities of circulation as well as weight and fineness.³⁹

Consequently, in assigning moneyers to London and Canterbury, one must rely almost solely on the evidence of type and style, with all their concomitant ambiguities. These are very pronounced in the Light coinage, where close correspondences sometimes exist between moneyers who were probably active at different mints.⁴⁰ Some apparently diagnostic types and features have been suggested, but few can be made to stick in every case. For example, Lord Stewartby pointed out an unusual form of R that seemed to be associated with London moneyers in the Heavy coinage, and thus added Beaghard, Ealhmund and Wulfhath to the London complement.⁴¹ However, the appearance of new coins in subsequent years has altered the situation. Not only did several London moneyers also use a regular R, but some specimens of the Heavy coinage of the moneyer Osmod (who is strongly associated with Canterbury by other evidence) also use the unusual form of R, while Beaghard, one of the moneyers who struck coins of this variety of Heavy coinage, shared an identical Light obverse design with a coin of Archbishop Jænberht.⁴² Hence he was very probably a Canterbury moneyer, or at least in very close contact with minting at Canterbury.

It is easier to perceive stronger stylistic and typological links binding small groups of moneyers together than universal trends at each mint-town; Figs 2–12 present eleven such groups of moneyers (Groups A–J, pp. 86–8 below). Fig. 5, for example, illustrates an identical light obverse type which was shared by Ealred, Eoba, Osmod and Udd (Fig. 5, Group D).⁴³ Eoba and Udd were very probably Canterbury moneyers, and so it is reasonable to associate Ealred and Osmod with Canterbury as well. Eadhun and Ealhmund are also closely associated: they used an identical design on certain coins (Group C, Fig. 4), and are the only two moneyers of Offa to share an inter-moneyer die link.⁴⁴ Although their attribution cannot be described as secure, Ealhmund was the only moneyer besides Bishop Eadberht of London to use the obverse legend **OFRA**,⁴⁵ which suggests that Ealhmund and Eadhun were possibly associated with London. Æthelwald and Dud are very closely linked to each other but do not betray any features to attribute them decisively to either mint.⁴⁶ The most that can be said is that Dud was one of a small group of moneyers who used the extended form of ethnic on the obverse (**MERCIORVM** or similar), among them Ealhmund and Eadhun, so the balance of probability suggests London.

By processes of this kind, most of the moneyers of Offa can be tentatively attributed to one mint or another. There remain only a few for whom there is no appreciable evidence either way. Tirwald, for example, used a ‘serpent torque’ reverse very similar to that of Ealhmund and also another reverse type shared only by Dud (Group J, Fig. 11),⁴⁷ suggesting London; but he also employed a ‘celtic cross’ obverse design and other reverse designs more akin to those used by Archbishop Jænberht and other secure Canterbury moneyers.⁴⁸

All the moneyers have been arranged in Table 1 below to show roughly how likely the attributions to each mint are: ‘very probable’ moneyers struck in other periods, allowing fairly secure attributions; ‘probable’ moneyers can be convincingly linked to them and thus to a mint; ‘possible’ moneyers are more likely to be linked to the mint in question, but the attribution remains flexible; and ‘uncertain’ moneyers cannot be confidently attributed to London or

³⁹ See below, pp. 82–4.

⁴⁰ Stewart 1988, 40–1.

⁴¹ Ibid., 36–8.

⁴² Chick 16 and 158. A similar (but not identical) type was also used by Eoba, Heaberht and Pehtwald (Chick 116–18, 122–4 and 130).

⁴³ Chick 99–100, 115, 125 and 137.

⁴⁴ Chick 31–3 and 43.

⁴⁵ Chick 39–41 and 83. Metcalf 1963, 40–1 saw the moneyer ‘Ealhmund/Alhmund’ as distinct from another moneyer named ‘Ealmund’. Since this difference seems to coincide with the work of different die-cutters, it is also possible that this reflects the different orthographical preferences of two individuals or workshops charged with composing and inscribing coin inscriptions for the same moneyer. For further discussion see Naismith forthcoming d.

⁴⁶ Chick 8–13, 19–20 and 27–8.

⁴⁷ Chick 37 and 132 for the serpent torque types and group J, below.

⁴⁸ Chick 91, 129, 132–4 and 150–1. Cf. group E below.

Canterbury. It should be noted that this table differs in some respects from the attributions in Derek Chick's recent volume.

TABLE 1. Mint attributions of Offa's moneyers.

	LONDON	CANTERBURY	EAST ANGLIA
Very probable	Bishop Eadberht Ciolhard Diola Eama Ibba Ludoman Wilhun Winoth	Archbishop Jænberht Babba Eoba Ethelmod Ethelnoth Udd	Botred Eadnoth Lul Wihtred Wilred
Probable	Eadhun Ealhmund Wulfhath	Osmod Ealred Deimund Heaberht	Eadberht Ec bald Ecghun Oethelred
Possible	Æthelwald Cuthberht Dud Lulla Mang	Beagheard Pehtwald	Wita (=Wihtred?)
Uncertain		<i>Tirwald</i> <i>Pendraed</i> <i>Ealdnod</i>	

Attempts to differentiate Canterbury, London and other mints on the basis of moneyers' careers, typology and stylistic affiliations are not helped by the coinage's relatively homogeneous metal content and metrology. Metallurgical analysis has so far been carried out on too few coins to offer the detail necessary to distinguish the different practices of individual mints or moneyers, if these existed at all.⁴⁹ In terms of metrology, comparative consistency prevailed even in the Light coinage, and working on the mint attributions suggested above, all three probable mints produce extremely similar overall average weights of approximately 1.18 g. These figures, as well as the average weights for each individual moneyer's products, are laid out in Table 2.

Most moneyers thus correspond closely to the averages of the coinage as a whole, and many of the outliers (Heaberht, Lul, Osmod, Pendred and Tirwald) are known from so few usable weights that the results are not conclusive. This is less true in the case of one moneyer: Babba. The average weight of his coins is lower than usual, but is based on a relatively large sample. This might indicate a different minting location – certainly somewhere within Kent, as Babba struck coins for Egbert II and later Eadberht 'Præn' (796–8) as well as Offa – but, in light of the general consistency between known mints, could just as readily be explained as a peculiarity of Babba's own workshop: another manifestation of the individual moneyer being the basis of production. It should also be noted that in the Heavy coinage and thereafter the weights of Babba's coins conform much more closely to the overall mean and median for the coinage.⁵⁰

Find-distributions can be used effectively to distinguish only the East Anglian mint (or mints). Among 39 known single-finds associated with moneyers of 'very probable' or 'probable' East Anglian attribution, 17 (44%) were found within modern East Anglia.⁵¹ London

⁴⁹ Metcalf and Northover 1989.

⁵⁰ I.e., 1.31 g mean and 1.30 g median based on six specimens in Offa's Heavy coinage, when the overall mean and median (at Canterbury and for the coinage as a whole) were both 1.30 g.

⁵¹ Within the reign of Offa the finds of each moneyer within East Anglia are too few to permit confident discussion of possible mint location(s) within the region. Most moneyers are known from a fairly even mix of Norfolk and Suffolk finds (e.g., three from each in the case of Wihtred), though East Anglian finds of Lul from the reign of Offa come entirely from Suffolk.

TABLE 2. Metrology of the light coinage by moneyer and mint.

Note that this table is based only on coins which are not apparently damaged in any respect. Some moneyers are not represented by any such coins and are not included.

	No. of specimens	Mean (g)	Median (g)		No. of specimens	Mean (g)	Median (g)
LONDON	155	1.18	1.19	CANTERBURY	140	1.17	1.18
Æthelwald	33	1.19	1.20	Babba	13	1.11	1.13
Dud	22	1.17	1.19	Beaghard	5	1.20	1.22
Ealhmund	38	1.18	1.19	Ealred	18	1.21	1.23
Winoth	11	1.17	1.16	Eoba	57	1.18	1.18
Ciolhard	7	1.19	1.19	Ethelnoth	6	1.18	1.19
Bp Eadberht	10	1.16	1.18	Heaberht	4	1.14	1.14
Eadhun	6	1.18	1.19	Osmod	3	1.22	1.22
Ibba	16	1.19	1.19	Pehtwald	7	1.16	1.15
Lulla	11	1.19	1.19	Udd	14	1.15	1.17
Mang	1	—	—	Abp Jænberht	13	1.17	1.19
UNCERTAIN				EAST ANGLIA	25	1.18	1.17
Ealdnod	1	—	—	Eadberht	1	—	—
Pendred	6	1.12	1.12	Eadnoth	2	1.15	1.15
Tirwald	5	1.11	1.09	Ecbald	1	—	—
				Ecg hun	2	1.17	1.17
				Lul	5	1.22	1.22
				Oethelred	4	1.17	1.17
				Wilred	1	—	—
				Wihtred	9	1.16	1.16

and Canterbury show much less variation. Even several decades of new finds have failed to break the *status quo*. This remains the case even if one examines only finds of coins associated with the moneyers of ‘very probable’ attribution. Table 3 shows the proportional breakdown of these finds into ten regions, with East Anglia included for comparative purposes.

TABLE 3. Breakdown of distribution of single-finds of Offa’s coinage struck by moneyers most firmly associated with the London, Canterbury and East Anglian mints.

	No. of finds	Kent/ Surrey	Essex	Sussex	East Anglia	Middle Anglia	Mercia	East Wessex	West Wessex	Lincoln- shire	North umbria
LONDON	106	23	14	5	12	18	10	8	6	9	1
(‘very probable’)	%	22	13	5	11	17	9	8	6	8	1
CANTERBURY	88	25	9	1	12	15	4	11	2	8	1
(‘very probable’)	%	28	10	1	14	17	5	13	2	9	1
EAST ANGLIA	28	3	6	0	13	2	1	0	2	1	0
(‘very probable’)	%	11	21	0	46	7	4	0	7	4	0

The similarity of the find-distributions associated with London and Canterbury reiterates the conclusions of other studies,⁵² although there have been some more promising results of unexpected concentrations of finds associated with specific moneyers.⁵³ For example, the possible London moneyers Æthelwald and Dud are both unusually well represented by finds from Kent and Surrey (8 out of 25 (32%) and 12 out of 28 (43%) respectively).⁵⁴ Presumably these moneyers had especially good connections among traders or travellers from specific areas. But such concentrations occur in only a few cases and the results cannot be mapped on to the mint as a whole: they again serve to emphasise that moneyers, even within the same mint-town, could work in quite different ways.

⁵² Chick 2005, 113–18.

⁵³ Metcalf 2009, 27–9 (on the coinages of Archbishop Jænberht and Udd for Egbert II).

⁵⁴ To these might be added coins of the East Anglian moneyer Eadnoth, which (taking into account coins of him minted for later kings) include a high proportion of finds from western Mercia. For further discussion see Naismith forthcoming d.

In sum, the fact that a coin was minted by a moneyer associated with Canterbury or London had no substantial effect on its likely trajectory of circulation. Even major barriers such as the Thames had little impact: some 40% of pennies minted by ‘very probable’ London moneyers were found south of the Thames, in comparison with 44% of those minted by ‘very probable’ Canterbury moneyers. On one level this speaks volumes for the integrated and dynamic monetary economy which revived over the course of Offa’s reign. But it also means that, even in those few cases of moneyers who are known from a substantial number of finds,⁵⁵ one can only follow their evidence back to southeast England: Canterbury and London cannot be distinguished with confidence.

Despite the Gordian knot of problems presented by the issue of mint attributions under Offa a few general conclusions may be ventured. Prime among them is the closeness of Canterbury and London. Economically they seem to have worked in harmony, the style and designs used at both mints were similar and at times it looks as though dies were actually transferred from London to Canterbury, especially high-quality portrait dies.⁵⁶ A troubling corollary of this is that even die-links or exact typological connections might not always confirm the mint-attribution of a moneyer to London or Canterbury: repeated connections are probably still reliable, but on the whole the associations made above which are not ‘very probable’ or ‘probable’ should be considered very tentative and provisional.

The underlying difficulty is that the pattern of die-production in Offa’s Light coinage was complex, and was not normally based on anything so straightforward as standardised types or monopolistic die-cutting workshops dominating all the moneyers at Canterbury or London. Moneyers within each mint-town moved in and out of association with different local and sometimes non-local die-cutting workshops. This mirrors the generally devolved nature of mint organisation in early and middle Anglo-Saxon England. Both moneyers and die-cutters could be entrusted with a relatively high degree of initiative and independence, especially at this formative stage in the Anglo-Saxon broad penny coinage.⁵⁷ Die-cutters clearly enjoyed an important say in the selection of new designs,⁵⁸ and moneyers sometimes received dies of a specific ‘house style’ from die-cutters over an extended period, implying that moneyers had some involvement in the process of die-production.⁵⁹ Even kings may have dealt with specific moneyers rather than mints as a whole.⁶⁰ In many ways, therefore, it is more helpful to focus on the die-cutters and their short- or long-term affiliations with moneyers as the basis of the coinage, rather than on mints as a whole. This will be the approach taken here.

Moneyers, die-cutters and common types in the Light coinage

A central problem of the Light coinage is determining what significance should be assigned to the many permutations in design and style among the surviving coins. Some must be the result of chronological developments, others of differences in organisation at the level of moneyer, die-cutter or perhaps mint-town. This is particularly contentious with the famous portrait coinage associated with London and Canterbury, which offers broad scope for examination of style and type. However, these issues remain highly complex and the portrait coinage resists the easy imposition of well-defined styles or phases. Even the two die-cutters of the finest portrait dies discerned by Derek Chick (in phase IIa and to a lesser extent IIb) are very similar in several ways,⁶¹ and it is probably best to view their products as the work of one larger workshop rather than of individuals with entirely distinct styles. Several features were common to both die-cutters, and even dies which have some typological or stylistic differences can usually be linked by very close similarities in other areas, such as the design of the drapery, the sunken

⁵⁵ Twenty of Offa’s moneyers are known from fewer than six English single-finds, and only eleven from fifteen or more.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 85.

⁵⁷ For further exploration of this topic see Naismith forthcoming d.

⁵⁸ Naismith 2008, 221; and Naismith 2010a.

⁵⁹ Cf. Metcalf 2009, 9 n.35; and Naismith forthcoming d.

⁶⁰ Naismith 2010a and b.

⁶¹ Naismith 2010a.

eye or distinctive execution of the ear or hair.⁶² Likewise in the epigraphy of the inscriptions, it should be noted that the exact layout, arrangement of pellets (normally between OFFA and REX, and between the R and E of REX) and even some unusual letter forms (such as the curved-limbed X and the pelleted and/or lozenge-shaped O) are found more or less throughout the portrait dies of the Light coinage, and delicate serifs are also very common.

This large die-cutting workshop should probably be associated with London, as portrait dies from other sources are predominantly (though not exclusively) found in the hands of Canterbury moneyers.⁶³ Why London dies were only used by some Canterbury moneyers is unclear, though the prominence among them of Eoba, who was uniquely favoured by the royal house, hints that preference and/or initiative associated with specific individuals may lie behind this phenomenon.⁶⁴ Some local portrait dies of distinctive style were made in Canterbury (sometimes probably as substitutes for unavailable London dies), and most non-portrait Canterbury dies seem to be local, with a few possible exceptions.⁶⁵

London-school portrait dies of fine style shade into a large group of similar but less accomplished workmanship. Among these are some dies close to those of the London school in style though with somewhat thicker lettering, which should probably be seen as issues of phase IIc.⁶⁶ A number of new hands and practices can be discerned among these later portrait dies, but separating them out into the work of specific individuals with consistent and definable styles is much more problematic. Also, the appearance of coarse portrait dies does not necessarily mean that other die-cutters had stopped producing dies of finer style. Ibba, for example, a probable London moneyer, survived from phase IIa into the Heavy coinage, yet seemingly produced only portrait pennies of fine style throughout the Light coinage. Either he enjoyed a hiatus in his stint as a moneyer, or he had constant access to dies of fine style. In other words, greater diversity in die-production emerged as the substantive Light coinage progressed into phase IIc. Dies of the best London style probably remained available alongside an expanding array of competitors.

The diversity of the Light coinage is magnified if the non-portrait types are taken into account. Although Chick was right to point out that Christopher Blunt's chronological separation of the Light coinage into portrait (class I) and non-portrait (class II) phases was overly simplistic,⁶⁷ it does not follow that all moneyers struck portrait coins that can be closely linked stylistically with their non-portrait issues. While there are examples of close affinities between the lettering and reverse designs of portrait and non-portrait coins, in many cases a moneyer's portrait and non-portrait coins seem to have been kept distinct.⁶⁸ In fact, there were relatively few moneyers who used identical reverse designs on portrait and non-portrait pennies; among them were Winoth, Ealred, Pehtwald, some rarer types of Dud, and Eoba's pennies for Cynethryth.⁶⁹ In the case of Dud and Æthelwald's main portrait and non-portrait types, on the other hand, there is no typological relationship.⁷⁰ A number of other moneyers who

⁶² For instance, one die-cutter was thought by Derek Chick to have been responsible for the dies supplied to Ciolhard, Pendred and Pehtwald (Chick 18, 67–70 and 128). However, most of their distinctive features can be paralleled individually (if not in the same combination) on coins that are associated with the other main die-cutter by Chick: cf. Chick 24, 34 and 126 for the drapery; Chick 10 and many others for the legend; and Chick 36–7 and 64 for the hair.

⁶³ For examples of portrait dies probably from other sources see Chick 20g–h, 37 i–p, 47, 48 b–d, 73, 114, 129 c–e (very similar to 48 b–d), 135–6, 139 and 147.

⁶⁴ Naismith 2010b.

⁶⁵ Cf. Chick 30 and 112.

⁶⁶ See (for example) some specimens of Chick 18 (Ciolhard), 20 (Dud), 37, 48 (Ealhmund), 70 (Pendred) and 128–9 (Pehtwald).

⁶⁷ Chick 1997, 48; a conclusion already anticipated in Lyon 1967, 218–21.

⁶⁸ This seems to be the case with the coins of Ealhmund: his main portrait type (Chick 37) has a reverse design that is only found on one non-portrait coin (Chick 40) of unusual style. His main non-portrait type (Chick 38–9) has a reverse design that is only vaguely similar to that of Chick 37 and 40, and is marked out by the addition of a cross and by the lack of a wreath or serpent enclosing the legend.

⁶⁹ See for Winoth Chick 72 and 74–6; for Ealred Chick 95–8 and 100; for Pehtwald Chick 126–9 and 130; for Dud Chick 23–5 and 29–30; and for Cynethryth Chick 138–47 and 148. It should be noted that the design used for the 'reverse' of Eoba's non-portrait pennies for Cynethryth is almost exactly the same as a reverse design used on two portrait coins of Ealhmund (Chick 44–5 and 148).

⁷⁰ Chick 8–10, 11–14, 19–21 and 27–8.

struck portrait coins did not produce any non-portrait coins at all, among them Ciolhard, Eadhun, Ealdnod (who is only known from one coin), Ibba, Lulla and Pendred – and vice versa in the case of Babba, Ethelnoth, Heaberht, Osmund at Canterbury and Wilred, Botred, Ecbald, Ecghun and Wita in East Anglia. The implication seems to be that some sort of distinction was often made between sets of dies used for portrait coins and sets of dies used for non-portrait coins, but that the rules could be flexible. Just as in the early ninth century,⁷¹ it is likely that some moneyers had access to portrait and non-portrait dies more or less simultaneously, often from different sources.⁷² That is to say, although the London-school portrait dies were especially dominant in the beginning and early part of the substantive Light coinage (IIa and IIb), they probably never held a total monopoly in either London or Canterbury. At any one time there were probably at least two more or less distinct sources of dies in each town.

A possible way round these complexities is to identify groups of specific types linking multiple moneyers. A number of such clusters can be picked out within the bulk of the substantive Light coinage, even if they are sometimes difficult to place into a chronological sequence. These stylistic and typological connections bound small groups of moneyers together, rather than the whole body of moneyers at a mint, and never spanned the whole of a moneyer's career. These associations represent temporary aberrations from the general rule of diversity and individualism. Inter-moneyer stylistic and typological clusters within phase II are shown below in Figs 2–12. Group B (Fig. 3), for example, is based on a distinct two-line epigraphic design on the obverse and reverse using quite spindly, elongated lettering. Group D (Fig. 5), on the other hand, is characterised by thicker, shorter lettering and by the specific forms of cross on obverse and reverse.

There is little to show why die-cutters sometimes resorted to the same design for certain groups of moneyers, or why those particular moneyers operated together. Also, not all moneyers bought into these associated groups. Some retained the same design for a long period, implying that die-cutters recognised a 'house style' for them, as in the case of Ibba. Only one other moneyer, Winoth, used the same reverse design as Ibba (Fig. 7, Group F), and on the whole Ibba's coinage remained distinct. In contrast, there were some groups of moneyers who received dies of the same design on multiple occasions, such as Dud and Æthelwald at London (Figs. 2–3: Groups A and B) and Ealræd and Eoba at Canterbury (Figs 4–5 and 8: Groups C, D and G). It is possible that they were contemporaries who shared in production of the same tranche of silver, or who were associated for some other now lost reason.

It should be noted that groups B and H (Figs 3 and 9) include both Canterbury and London moneyers. Many dies flowed between these two centres, though normally only from London to Canterbury, and London dies seem to have been concentrated in the hands of only a few Canterbury moneyers: Eoba, Ealræd and perhaps Pehtweald. The East Anglian mint remained more distinct, but in the earliest period of coinage and again in the heavy coinage (phases Ia and III) it used a standardised type, and even in the substantive light coinage (phase II) East Anglian die-cutters adopted a few designs that probably originated at Canterbury or London.⁷³

The East Anglian mint was also marked out by the activity of a distinctive die-cutter, who used characteristic forms of spindly lettering with pellets at the end of each line (Fig. 13). He was responsible for a substantial proportion of the East Anglian output, though interestingly he never or rarely supplied some moneyers (Ecbald and Wihræd), and there were no moneyers who used his dies exclusively. Among the products of this die-cutter is a sub-set of coins which share a very similar design of a lozenge surrounded by roundels, sometimes on the obverse, sometimes on the reverse. These were presumably made around the same time,

⁷¹ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1963, 16–18.

⁷² Cf. the presence of both portrait and non-portrait coins of Æthelwald and Ealhmund (possible and probable London moneyers respectively) in the Aiskew hoard.

⁷³ Chick 160, 172, 177A and arguably many of the portrait types.



Fig. 2. Chick 10p. Group A: Chick 8–10 (Æthelwald), 19 (Dud) [and 37 (Alhmund)]. A relatively early type (phases IIa and b), related to some of the first moneyer-obverse portrait coins.



Fig. 3. Chick 13c. Group B: Chick 13 (Æthelwald), 18A (Cuthberht), 27 (Dud) and 119–20 (Ethelnoth) [75–6 (Winoth) and 101 (Ealræd) (Obverse only)]. Apparently another early type (phases IIa and b), found in the Aiskew hoard.



Fig. 4. Chick 32a. Group C: Chick 31–3 (Eadhun) and 43 (Ealhmund). Also relatively early (phase IIb), on the evidence of specimens in the Aiskew hoard.



Fig. 5. Chick 99a. Group D: Chick 99 (Ealræd), 115 (Eoba), 125 (Osmod) and 137 (Udd). A mid- to late-substantive Light coinage type (probably phase IIc).



Fig. 6. Chick 117c. Group E: Chick 116–17 (Eoba), 122–3 (Heaberht) and 130 (Pehtwald) [and, for ‘celtic cross’ design only, Chick 91B (Babba), 122–3 (Ethelnoth), 126–9 (Pehtwald) and 132–4 (Tirwald)]. More difficult to date, and probably extending across most of the substantive Light coinage (probably phases IIb–c).



Fig. 7. Chick 55a. Group F: Chick 55 (Ibba) and 72 (Winoth). (Reverse only) Difficult to date precisely because this was the primary mainstream type of Ibba, while the related obverse of Winoth approximates a less fine version of Group A. Probably post-Aiskew and mid-substantive Light coinage (late phase IIb and phase IIc).



Fig. 8. Chick 92a. Group G: Chick 92 (Ealræd) and 112 (Eoba). (Obverse only) One of the earliest varieties of the substantive Light coinage (phase IIa).



Fig. 9. Chick 30a. Group H: Chick 30 (Dud), 112 (Eoba) [and, for reverse design only, 131 (Tirwald)]. (Dud obverse/Eoba and Tirwald reverse only) A relatively early type, through association with a moneyer-obverse portrait coin of Eoba (phases IIa–b).



Fig. 10. Chick 49a. Group I: Chick 49 (Ealhmund) and 62 [and (for reverse) 58–61 and 62–6 (Lulla)]. Probably a mid- and/or late-substantive Light coinage group (phase IIc).



Fig. 11. Chick 24a. Group J: Chick 23–5, 30 (Dud), 131 (Tirwald) and 148 (Eoba) (reverse only). Probably a type from relatively early in the substantive Light coinage (phase IIb).

Figs 2–11. Inter-moneyer types in Phase II of the Light coinage. Similarities of bust have not been included here unless there are very close features in other aspects of the design. Partial connections (often of only obverse or reverse design) are indicated by square brackets.



Fig. 12. Chick 177b. Group K: Chick 15 ('Æthelwald'), 166 (Eadnoth), 173 (Lul) and 177 (Æthelræd). Phase II.



Fig. 13. Chick 166a. East Anglian die-cutter: Chick 161–2 (Botred), 164–6 (Eadnoth), 168–70 (Ecghun), 173 (Lul) and 174–7 (Æthelræd). Phase II.

and indicate a group of contemporaneous moneyers who drew on the same source for their dies (Eadnoth, Lul and Æthelred; Group K, Fig. 12). Also associated with this group is an enigmatic coin that combines an obverse die of this design with a reverse die in the name of the London moneyer Æthelweald.⁷⁴ However, there are oddities in the design of the reverse die which indicate that it is not a product of the main London die-cutter, and is probably an unofficial (East Anglian?) issue.⁷⁵ This die-cutter could theoretically have been behind most or all die-production during a certain period. Currently these coins are very rare and thus some of the gaps in his supply of East Anglian moneyers may one day be filled through new finds; but it is more probable that heterogeneous die-cutting applied in East Anglia as well as Canterbury and London.

These islands of unity in a sea of diversity show that moneyers were not necessarily averse to the sharing of types, but bring home the general variation of the Light coinage at three levels – mint, die-cutter and moneyer. Several die-cutters worked at any one time, though sometimes they collaborated with or drew inspiration from their fellows, and they as well as the moneyers possessed considerable freedom in the design and distribution of dies. Often this was exercised within a general pattern of continuity that was established for each moneyer, manifested (for obvious reasons) on reverse dies in particular. It is this diversity and loose organisation which hampers any attempt to fit these groups and the rest of the Light coinage into any very exact chronology.

Relative chronology of the Light coinage

During the years prior to the establishment of the Heavy coinage in 792/3 (phase III), any standardisation among Offa's pennies was largely dependent on the interaction between die-cutters and moneyers, resulting in a coinage that was diverse and dynamic yet also the despair of numismatic organisation. Determining when the coinage of Offa began, and when the justly-famed portrait element of the Light coinage was produced, is a particularly complex matter because of the scarcity of background events with which it can be associated. Absolute dates have deliberately been avoided so far, as it is the assignment of specific dates which is particularly difficult and which will be discussed in detail below. It is preferable to discuss the coinage separately and arrive at a relative chronology before attempting to associate it with the historical background before 792/3.

This, the most important date within the coinage of Offa, was identified by Christopher Blunt in 1961.⁷⁶ Blunt noted that the three-line inscriptional obverse design characteristic of

⁷⁴ Chick 15. For another interpretation of this group cf. Metcalf 2009, 3.

⁷⁵ Alternatively, it could be the sole survivor of the output of an East Anglian moneyer also named Æthelweald, or possibly of an errant East Anglian die which was used in London.

⁷⁶ Blunt 1961, 53–4.

one part of Offa's coinage was also associated with coins of higher weight, and that the coinage struck in the name of Archbishop Æthelheard and Offa used only this weight and mostly this design. He deduced that this 'class III' (or 'Heavy') coinage of Offa was instituted around the time of the death of Archbishop Jænberht and the accession of Æthelheard in 792/3.⁷⁷

Another major advance in chronological understanding of Offa's coinage came in the 1990s, when Derek Chick pinned down a very small early group within the 'Light' coinage (here phase Ia).⁷⁸ This group was dominated by non-portrait issues which used an abbreviated form of royal title: **OF[fa] R[ex] M[erciorum]**.⁷⁹ The early coinage was struck by only a few moneyers and is known from fewer than twenty surviving specimens. One of the moneyers, Wilred, was based at the East Anglian mint, and had previously worked for the East Anglian ruler Beonna, clinching his early date and East Anglian attribution. Another moneyer of this phase, Man[nin]g, was unknown until a series of detector finds in the late 1980s at the productive site of East Tilbury. Tilbury was dominated, in the time of the *sceattas*, by products of London and Essex, which led Chick to attribute Man[nin]g to London.⁸⁰ A third moneyer ('Odd...') is known only from a fragmentary coin found at Flixborough in North Lincolnshire, and cannot be named or attributed with any confidence. Finally, Eoba, who was to enjoy an exceptionally long and prominent career, seems to have produced the earliest coinage of the period at Canterbury for Heaberht, the local ruler, and for Offa.⁸¹

In many respects this early series stands out quite clearly from the substantive Light coinage which immediately followed. There was considerable unity of design among all the early issues, based on an epigraphic obverse design featuring an abbreviated form of the royal name and title (which persisted only to a limited extent into the rest of the light coinage). The average weight was noticeably higher, as was often the case at the inception of a new coinage, with a mean of 1.23 g and a median of 1.26 g based on twelve well-preserved specimens, as opposed to an overall mean and median for the light coinage of 1.18 g.⁸² The early coinage was also marked out by general discontinuity of moneyers' careers into the later phases of the coinage.⁸³ Only Eoba, who probably started latest of the four known moneyers of phase Ia, survived into later coinages.

To this early group one can possibly add certain other rare coins that span the period between the earliest issues and the main part of the Light coinage, forming an 'intermediate' phase datable to c.775–c.785 (phase Ib). At Canterbury the coins of Egbert II by the moneyers Eoba, Babba and Udd belong to this period.⁸⁴ One coin by the otherwise unknown moneyer Wita is of curious appearance and bears the title **OFFA REX**; it probably belongs to the transitional period at the end of the 'early' coinage, and although the unusual style is not diagnostic of any particular mint, the rare moneyer's name may be a hypocoristic variant of the well-known East Anglian moneyer Wihtred.⁸⁵ A more probable but still uncertain specimen of intermediate East Anglian coinage recently came to light in the form of a fragment which appears to combine an abbreviated royal title on the (non-portrait) obverse with the moneyer's name [Wiht]red on the reverse.⁸⁶ At London, possible candidates for issues struck at this time are some types of Bishop Eadberht and the associated non-portrait coins of Ealhmund,⁸⁷

⁷⁷ It is possible that the movement toward this design actually began before Jænberht's death on 12 August 792: Christopher Blunt (Blunt 1961, 47–8; Chick 150–1) drew attention to a 'transitional' penny of the archbishop, which places his name into a three-line legend much like that used for Offa after 792/3.

⁷⁸ Chick 1997 and 2005.

⁷⁹ Chick 1997 and 2005. Chick 2010 types 5–7, 102 and 160.

⁸⁰ Though it should be noted that in the time of Offa and in the early ninth century there was a significant East Anglian element among the finds from Tilbury. Man[nin]g stands at the head of this period, so may have had more in common with the earlier eighth century, but nevertheless his attribution to London should remain tentative.

⁸¹ Chick 84 and 102 (and possibly 103). Cf. Naismith 2010b.

⁸² Naismith forthcoming d.

⁸³ Metcalf 2009, 10.

⁸⁴ Chick 85 and 87–8.

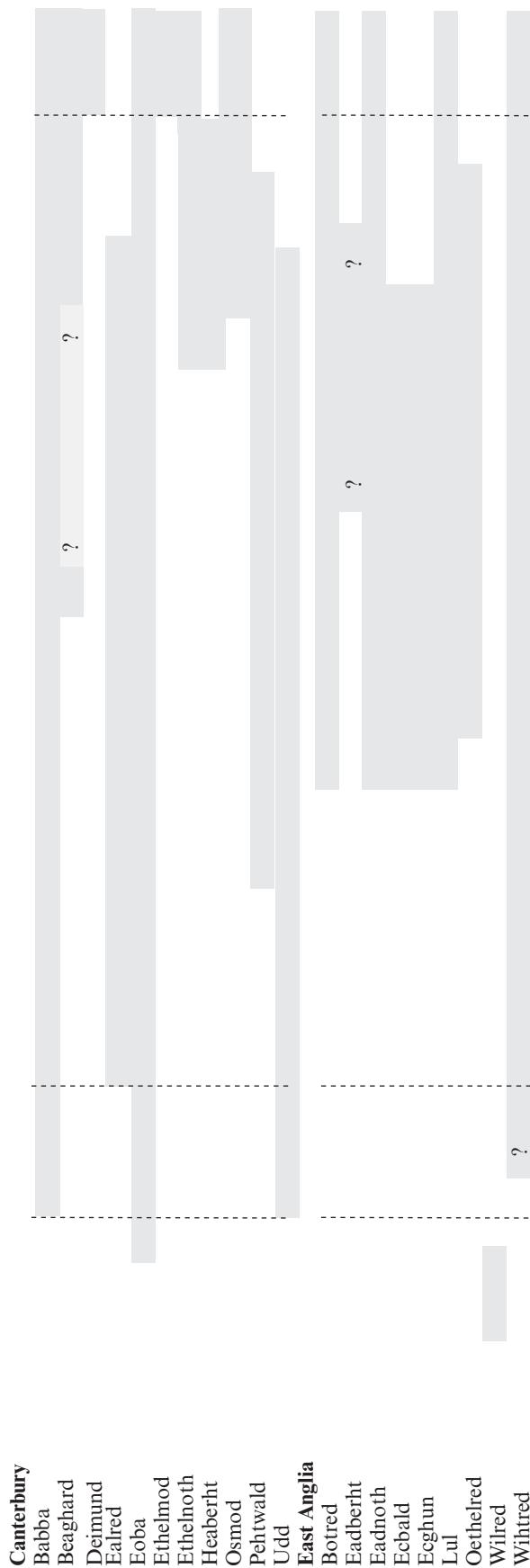
⁸⁵ Chick 185.

⁸⁶ Chick 177A.

⁸⁷ Chick 38–42 and 78–83. For the relatively early stylistic dating of (at least some of) Eadberht's coinage, see Chick 1997, 53. Eadberht's episcopal dates are, unfortunately, too broad to permit any additional precision in dating.

TABLE 4. Relative moneyer chronology in the coinage of Offa.

Moneyer	<i>Early coinage (ph. Ia)</i>	<i>Inter- mediate coinage (ph. Ib)</i>	LIGHT COINAGE (c. 760/5–923)			HEAVY COINAGE (ph. III) (792/3–6)
			<i>Early portrait & related coinage (ph. IIa)</i>	<i>Substantive light coinage coinage (ph. IIb)</i>	<i>Later (?) portrait & related coinage (ph. IIc)</i>	
London						
Æthelwald						
Dud		?				
Ealhmund						
Winoth				?		?
Ciohhard						
Cuthberht						
Diola						
Bp Eadberht			?			
Eama						
Eadhun						
Ibba						
Ludoman						
Lulla						
Mang						
Odd-						
Willhun						
Wulflath						
Uncertain moneyers						
Ealdnod						
Pendred						
Tirwald						
Wita			?	?	?	



many of which carry an abbreviated royal title (sometimes **O[f]F[a]** **R[ex]** **A[nglorum]**) and designs similar to early issues from Kent and East Anglia. No portrait pennies were issued in phases Ia and Ib.

It is the chronology of the next period, that of the substantive (phase II) Light coinage, that remains most problematic. It was probably struck from c.784/5 right down to the institution of the Heavy coinage in 792/3: several moneyers came and went over its course, coins could be overstruck⁸⁸ and there are typological connections and even die-links with the Heavy coinage of 792/3. The earliest specimens of it, however, are probably those which bear the moneyer's name on the obverse – that is, alongside the portrait – and the king's name (often in abbreviated form) on the reverse (phase IIa).⁸⁹ This odd feature was presumably a hangover from the preceding non-portrait coinage, which universally allotted one face of the coin to the king's name and title. These coins are very rare now, represented by only five moneyers, some of whom used two or three varieties of royal title at this time, implying experimentation and swift adoption of new forms. This movement away from the style **OF[fa]** **R[ex]** **M[erciorum]** was one of the defining features of the main Light coinage, although complete uniformity in this area was not to emerge until the Heavy coinage of 792/3 and after.⁹⁰

The substantive part of the Light coinage was broken down by Derek Chick into a 'primary' and a 'secondary' phase – roughly corresponding to the phases labelled IIa/b and IIc here – with the Aiskew hoard providing a convenient snapshot of the 'primary' phase (IIa and b). This consisted of portrait pennies of very fine quality along with contemporary non-portrait pennies. But it is also important to define more closely what Chick labelled the 'secondary' phase: a period which he described as one of slowed production and stylistic deterioration.⁹¹ Few coins were advanced as examples, and several potential cases – such as the crude portrait coins of Eoba and Udd⁹² – may represent difficulty in obtaining London-school portrait dies at Canterbury, rather than any change over time.

These specimens thus make a limited contribution to understanding of the overall chronology. More useful from this point of view are the products of moneyers at Canterbury and London which were struck with portrait dies close in appearance to those of the London school, but which are not of so fine a style as those found in the early Aiskew hoard. This criterion is subjective to a certain extent, of course, and has been discussed already in the context of die-cutting practices.⁹³ The later phase of the substantive Light coinage (phase IIc) was characterised by a tendency among some moneyers towards features not seen among earlier portrait types such as a large and pointed nose, overly rounded features and exaggerated musculature. Moneyers whose coins all or mostly fall into phase IIc group include Winoth, Ciolhard, Lulla and Tirwald; other long-established moneyers such as Ealhmund also produced some coins answering to the same description (see for example Fig. 10). The appearance of several new moneyers at or around this point, when some of their predecessors such as Eadhun seem to have retired, suggests a chronological difference. Beaghard, for example, probably began to operate during phase IIc. He is only known from a single and very recently discovered fragment of a portrait coin (no. 7 in the Appendix, p. 98); otherwise Beaghard's work is characterised by non-portrait coins, which seem to have become more prevalent among the issues of moneyers who emerged in phase IIc. Osmod is the best example of this tendency, but Heaberht and Ethelnoth (all three probable or possible Canterbury moneyers) are also mostly or entirely known from non-portrait issues with comparable styles of lettering.

This suggestion of a movement towards non-portrait types towards the end of the Light coinage must remain very tentative, and applies most clearly to Canterbury, where several of the moneyers shared types associated with groups D and E (Figs. 5–6 above) and survived into the Heavy coinage. The best evidence for a similar development in London is provided by a

⁸⁸ Chick 183b.

⁸⁹ Chick 1997, 50–1. See Chick 8 (Æthelweald), 35 (Ealhmund), 51–3 (Ibba), 92 and 94 (Ealræd) and 112 and 138–47 (Eoba).

⁹⁰ On Offa's numismatic titulature see Naismith 2006. Cf. no. 1 in Appendix (below).

⁹¹ Chick 1997, 55.

⁹² Chick 114, 136 and 147.

⁹³ See above, pp. 84–5.

die-link between a non-portrait Light coin and a Heavy coin among the coins of the moneyer Winoth.⁹⁴ This must belong to the very end of phase IIc.

So, despite the continuing complexity presented by the Light coinage, a few points of its internal chronology seem to be emerging. The two earliest phases – IIa and b – of the substantive Light coinage at London and Canterbury are revealed by the Aiskew hoard. Thereafter it is more difficult but still possible to identify certain trends: a common but by no means universal tendency towards non-portrait issues in the later stages of the Light coinage (late phase IIc); and hints that after the initial burst of portrait dies of exceptional artistic merit, portrait dies of more variable quality could be produced for some moneyers all the way through the Light coinage.

These conclusions are summarised in Table 4 (see pp. 90–1). It should be noted that all of the chronologies assigned for individual moneyers remain provisional, and are subject to reinterpretation in light of new finds.

Absolute chronology

Thus the relative chronology of the coinage: it still remains to fit this around actual dates within Offa's reign. A simplified representation of the chronology most recently offered by Chick is as follows:

TABLE 5. Derek Chick's reading of the absolute chronology of Offa's coinage.

	LONDON	CANTERBURY	EAST ANGLIA	
c.760–76	Earliest coinage of Offa by Mang and 'Odd...'		c.760 c.765–75	Coinage of Beonna Earliest coinage of Offa by Wilred
		c.770 ?	Coinage of Heaberht ?	
		c.774–6	Coinage of Offa by Eoba (?)	?
?	?	c.776–80	Coinage of Egbert II	c.782 Coinage of Offa by Wita?
c.779–85	'Primary' Light coinage of Offa	c.780–5	'Primary' Light coinage of Offa	?
c.783–92/3	'Secondary' Light coinage of Offa	c.783–92/3	'Secondary' Light coinage of Offa	c.783–92/3 'Secondary' Light coinage of Offa (and Æthelberht)
792/3–6	Heavy coinage of Offa	792/3–6	Heavy coinage of Offa	792/3–6 Heavy coinage of Offa

The relationship between Offa's coinage and the events in contemporary Kent – the best-recorded region of England at this point and home to the mint of Canterbury – is crucial to any discussion of the chronology.⁹⁵ These events, which are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and contemporary charters, are summarised below:

764–5: Charters show a complex political situation emerging in Kent after the death of King Æthelberht in 762: two new local kings, Heaberht and Egbert II, (who may have come to power under Offa's patronage),⁹⁶ sometimes granted land to recipients who also sought Offa's consent, implying recognition of both rulers' authority. In other cases these local kings issued charters alone.

⁹⁴ Chick 75b and 213a. Winoth was also responsible for portrait pennies (Chick 72) that used a reverse design similar to that of Chick 75, which hints that he may have been issuing pennies with different obverse designs around the same time.

⁹⁵ Important discussions of the problem include Lockett 1920, 57–65; and Blunt 1961, 39–41 and 53–4.

⁹⁶ S 34 and 105. For the classic statement on Offa's relationships with subordinate or soon-to-be subordinate local rulers, see Stenton 1971, 206–10. For more recent views, with references to intervening literature, see Keynes 2005, 10–13; Kelly 1995, 201; and Brooks and Kelly forthcoming, no. 21.

776: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records a battle between the Mercians and the men of Kent at Otford.⁹⁷ Neither the cause nor outcome are stated, nor indeed exactly who led the two sides, though the evidence of subsequent charters issued without Offa's consent suggests that Offa was defeated and excluded from rule in Kent.⁹⁸

778/9–c.784?: Kentish kings issue charters without any reference to Offa, first Egbert II (and possibly Heaberht) in 778/9⁹⁹ followed by a gap of some years and lastly a charter probably of 784 in the name of an enigmatic King Ealhmund.¹⁰⁰

785: The sequence of Offa's charters dealing with Kentish lands resumes, and continues uninterrupted for the rest of his reign.¹⁰¹ A reference in a charter from a few years after his death shows the dim view Offa took of Egbert II usurping his status as rightful king and grantor of lands.¹⁰²

This presents several conflicts with Chick's chronology outlined above, particularly for the period 776–c.784/5 when Offa is usually supposed to have been excluded from Kent. Chick reduced the length of Offa's exclusion from Kent to the bare minimum indicated by the charters of Egbert, but there remains a strong case for Kentish independence persisting until the mid-780s.¹⁰³ Elsewhere Chick circumvented this difficulty by suggesting that the important Canterbury moneyer Eoba may have defected to Mercia after the battle of Otford.¹⁰⁴ If so, his coins for Egbert II would presumably represent either an earlier issue, struck during the period before 776, or more probably one from the period after the battle but before Eoba's supposed reversal of loyalties.

Ongoing historical analysis and the insights given by additional finds and Chick's complete catalogue suggest caution, however. There is no compelling reason to reject the chronological framework of the charters and Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and neither is there any evidence for Eoba's temporary departure from Canterbury other than his access to London-made early portrait dies. No other obvious break or lacuna in Eoba's contribution to the Light coinage presents itself, and the division in the coinage of Kent is best placed between the earliest phase of Offa's coins (phase Ia), which extended down to about 776, and the subsequent substantive Light coinage.¹⁰⁵ If Eoba was based in Canterbury throughout the 770s and 780s, it seems very unlikely that the substantive Light coinage of phase II began at London substantially earlier than at Canterbury. The most reasonable conclusion is that this main part of the Light coinage began at a time when Offa had control over Kent as well as London and, on present evidence, these conditions most likely came about in or after 784/5: hence the substantive Light coinage of London and Canterbury was probably produced over less than a decade.¹⁰⁶ There is no secure evidence to date the sub-phases of the substantive Light coinage: on the basis of surviving quantities of coin and projections of original output one might estimate c.784/5 for phase IIa of portrait and related coins with the moneyer's name on the obverse; c.785–787/8 for phase IIb – the Aiskew hoard phase of the Light coinage, which was distinguished by the highest quality portrait coins; and c.787/8–92/3 for the final post-Aiskew phase IIc.

The East Anglian mint is even more obscure. The coins of Wilred are undoubtedly Offa's earliest issue from this mint, representing all of its output in phase Ia; others may belong to

⁹⁷ ASC s.a. 776 (ed. Plummer 1892 I, 50–1; trans. Whitelock 1979, 178).

⁹⁸ Stenton 1971, 207.

⁹⁹ S 35 and 36. S 37 bears no date, but is in the name of Egbert II and Heaberht alone and is presumably associated with this period.

¹⁰⁰ S 38. On the evidence for Ealhmund, see Naismith forthcoming a.

¹⁰¹ S 123. For later charters see S 124–38.

¹⁰² S 155.

¹⁰³ Cf. Metcalf 2009, 11.

¹⁰⁴ Chick 1997, 50. For Eoba as a possibly peripatetic moneyer, see Metcalf 2009, 11.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Chick 2005, 119. Canterbury coins struck before Offa's resumption of control c.784/5 (i.e., phase Ia–b) are probably Chick 84 (Eoba), 85 (Babba), 86 (Eoba), 87 (Udd) and 102 and possibly 103 (Eoba for Offa).

¹⁰⁶ This chronology is similar to those of Metcalf 1963, 39, Metcalf 1988, 241–2 and Blunt 1961, 53–4, who connected the new coinage with the synod of Chelsea and consecration of Ecgfrith in 787.

the intermediate phase Ib.¹⁰⁷ There follows a more easily definable substantive phase of the East Anglian Light coinage, which possibly began somewhat later than at Canterbury and London (between the years c.785–90?), as no East Anglian coins were found in the Aiskew hoard.¹⁰⁸ Portraits were scarce on the East Anglian Light coinage, and for whatever reason seem not to have appealed to the main Offa die-cutter of the phase (see Fig. 13). Æthelberht of East Anglia's rare coins are of uncertain date: they must have come after Wilred's coins for Offa, and before – perhaps around the inception of – Offa's Heavy coinage.¹⁰⁹ Beyond that it is impossible to determine conclusively how they fit in with Offa's Light coinage: the most likely possibility is that Æthelberht usurped or was granted the services of one moneyer, while other moneyers continued to work for Offa around him.¹¹⁰

As is apparent, problems and uncertainties (historical and numismatic) still lurk, but it is now possible to offer an overview of the chronology of Offa's coinage. The 'early' coinage of phase I began c.760/5 at London and East Anglia, and probably a few years later at Canterbury (c.765/70). While the former two mints sank back into abeyance and restarted on a low level c.775/80 (i.e., phase Ib), Canterbury gradually increased its output, first with a coinage for Heaberht and Offa by Eoba, which probably belongs to the years before the battle of Otford in 776. The outcome of this battle left Offa without control over Canterbury, and coins of Egbert II were minted there for the next few years, quite probably until Mercian control was re-established, probably c.784/5. It was only after Offa's rule was secure at both Canterbury and London that minting began once again with phase II, apparently on a much-expanded scale, but based on a substantially devolved system of administration, which was extended to the East Anglian mint sometime soon after. Phase III, the Heavy coinage, began – presumably around the same time at all mints – in 792/3. This scheme is summarised in Table 6 below:

TABLE 6. Revised absolute chronology of Offa's coinage. Phases are given in parentheses.

	LONDON	CANTERBURY	EAST ANGLIA
c.760–70	Earliest coinage of Offa by Mang (Ia)	?	c.760 Coinage of Beonna
		c.765/70	
			Coinage of Heaberht (Ia)
		c.770–76	
			Earliest coinage of Offa by Eoba (Ia)
?	?		c.765 Earliest coinage of Offa by Wilred (Ia)
c.780?–	Early coins of Bishop Eadberht and	776–c.784	?
c. 785?	Ealhmund? (Ib)		c.780? Coinage of Offa by Wihtred? (Ib)
c.784/5	Substantive Light coinage (IIa)	c.784/5	?
c.785–87/8	Substantive Light coinage (IIb)	c.785–87/8	c.785/90?– Substantive Light coinage (and
c.787/8–92/3	Substantive Light coinage (IIc)	c.787/8–92/3	92/3 coinage of Æthelberht) (II)
792/3–6	Heavy coinage of Offa (III)	792/3–6	792/3–6 Heavy coinage of Offa (III)

Conclusions

Offa's reign was a generally fluid and experimental period for Anglo-Saxon coinage. In many respects its earlier portions looked back to the early pennies or *sceattas* and the issues of Beonna and Eadberht, though by the end of the reign in 796 the trends for much of the next century were beginning to emerge. Types and die-production were becoming increasingly

¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 89.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Blunt 1961, 49–50.

¹⁰⁹ The high weight of one of the surviving specimens (Chick 186c: 1.41 g) may suggest they were minted after the adoption of the Heavy coinage weight standard.

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 79.

standardised, at least within each mint and sometimes more widely, as in Offa's final Heavy coinage. It is also possible to exaggerate the diversity of the preceding Light coinage. Unity in weight, fineness and use of some form of royal name and title prevailed throughout Offa's reign, and foreign coinage was excluded from circulation after the early 780s.¹¹¹ The complexities that applied to design, style and die-production should not be allowed to overshadow these basic elements of uniformity.

At the same time, these complexities are in themselves an intrinsic part of the coinage, and a reflection of the emergent minting organisation that produced it. No silver bullet has yet appeared with which to overcome these problems posed by Offa's coinage, or at least the Light coinage. There is no cause to doubt the date or nature of the change from Light to Heavy coinage in 792/3, and the issues of Offa's last years are much less problematic. Despite fuzziness over the exact date of the inception of the Light coinage, the earliest phase of Offa's coinage (phase I) is also relatively clear. It is the large and artistically vibrant intervening period of the substantive Light coinage that still remains enigmatic, mainly because of its generally loose organisation of minting and die-production and its lack of standardised types within or between mints. Indeed, it is generally more helpful to focus on moneyers rather than minting towns as a whole, in the same way as was probably done by Offa and others in the eighth century. Sporadic groupings of type or style among these moneyers appear from time to time, as presented in Figs 2–12, but while helpful for purposes of mint attribution and relative chronology these fleeting associations also serve to demonstrate the flexible relationships that prevailed between moneyers and die-cutters. Several of the latter probably worked within each town at any one time. London was host to an especially accomplished die-cutting school during the substantive Light coinage. Only a few Canterbury moneyers had access to these dies depending on their own or the die-cutter's needs and wishes. Sometimes this access may have been dictated by political factors, though doubtless other (now invisible) forces played a part.

These conclusions remain subject, as with all others on the problematic coinage of Offa, to changes necessitated by new discoveries. The pennies listed in the Appendix have already filled in some blanks, and even a single new coin might force substantial revision of the chronology, while further hoards would prove invaluable. Yet Derek Chick's new book with its detailed corpus has brought us an important step closer to definitive conclusions, and to full appreciation of a coinage that presents a unique cocktail of numismatic challenges, aesthetic qualities and historical and economic significance.

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¹¹¹ Metcalf 2009, 17–18.

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APPENDIX: RECENT FINDS OF COINS OF OFFA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

This appendix lists 63 coins discovered between the closure of the catalogue in Chick 2010 in 2006 and May 2010. All are illustrated on **Pls 7–8**. Coins which have changed hands since 2006 but are already included in Chick's catalogue are not listed.

1. Chick 8A (new type) [Offa: London, Æthelweald]
 Obv. **+ÆÐILUÆLÐO** around an undraped diademed bust right, breaking a beaded inner circle.
 Rev. **OF / F / AR / EX** divided by four jewel-like lobes; the inner circles contains a cross botonnée with four petals in saltire.
 EMC 2007.0225/PAS LIN-FD5751. *Coin Register* 2008, no. 213.
 1.24 g.
 Found near Empingham, Rutland, 2007.
 Note: the obverse moneyer's name is here combined with a new form of royal title, indicating that the abbreviated title was not universal even at the earliest stage of the substantive Light coinage.
2. Chick 10 [Offa: London, Æthelweald]
 Obv. **+OFFA REX+** (lozenge-shaped O) around a diademed and heart-shaped bust right, breaking an inner circle.
 Rev. **Eð / IL / VA / LD** divided by four jewel-like lobes; the inner circle contains a cross botonnée with four petals in saltire.
 Ex Baldwin's catalogue Winter 2008, no. BH061.
 No wt.
 Same dies as Chick 10 (k).
 Same obverse die as Chick 10 (j) and (l).
3. Chick 10 [Offa: London, Æthelweald]
 Obv. **+OFFA REX+** around a diademed and heart-shaped bust right, breaking a beaded inner circle.
 Rev. **Eð / EL / VA / LD** divided by four jewel-like lobes; the inner circle contains a cross botonnée with four petals in saltire.
 EMC 2009.0231.
 No wt (chipped and bent), 330°.
 Found near Lincoln, Lincolnshire, July 2009.
4. Chick 10 [Offa: London, Æthelweald]
 Obv. **+OFFA REX+** (lozenge-shaped O) around a diademed and heart-shaped bust right, breaking a beaded inner circle.
 Rev. **Eð / IL / VA / LD** divided by four jewel-like lobes; the inner circle contains a cross botonnée with four petals in saltire.
 PAS SUR-00E794.
 1.31 g, 17 mm.
 Same dies as Chick 10 (k).
 Found near Guildford, Surrey, January 2006.
5. Chick 14A (new type) [Offa: London, Æthelweald]
 Obv. **OFFA || REX** in two lines divided by beaded bar with triangles or forks at each end.
 Rev. **EðEL || VAELD** in two lines divided by beaded bar with triangles or forks at each end.
 No wt.
 Found on Biggleswade Common, Biggleswade, Hertfordshire, by April 2009.
6. Chick 17 [Offa: London, Beagheard]
 Obv. **+O / FF / A R / EX** in angles of cross of lobes over a smaller saltire cross of lobes, with a trefoil-headed sceptre in all lobes.
 Rev. **+BAH || HAR** in two lunettes divided by a beaded bar with cross at either end.
 EMC 2009.0115.
 1.20 g, 90°.
 Same dies as Chick 17 (a).
 Found near Little Walden, Essex, September 2008.
7. Chick 17A (new type) [Offa: London, Beagheard]
 Obv. uncertain inscription around draped and diademed bust right.
 Rev. **+bEAH || HAR** in two lines divided by a plain bar, with further indistinct ornamentation on either side.
 Personal communication, Gareth Williams, January 2009.
 0.57 g (small fragment), 90°.
 Note: the only portrait type of Beagheard, on the authority of which it is possible to date his activity somewhat earlier than would otherwise be possible.

8. Chick 18 [Offa: London, Ciolhard] Obv. +OFFA REX+ around a Roman-style draped and cuirassed bust right with curly hair, breaking beaded inner circle. Rev. +EIOL || HARDO (lozenge-shaped O) above and below serpent-like creature forming a lateral figure of eight across the field. Ex Lockdale's auction 75, 15.11.2009, lot 565. No wt (badly chipped). Found in Suffolk, by 2009.
9. Chick 18 [Offa: London, Ciolhard] Obv. +OFFA REX+ around a Roman-style draped and cuirassed bust right with curly hair, breaking beaded inner circle. Rev. +EIOL || HARDO (lozenge-shaped O) above and below serpent-like creature forming a lateral figure of eight across the field. PAS BUC-7AB427. No wt (slightly chipped), 17 mm. Same reverse die as Chick 18 (c). Found near Temple, Bisham, Berkshire, June 2006.
10. Chick 19A (new type) [Offa: London, Dud] Obv. +OFFA+REX+ around an undraped diademed bust right, breaking a beaded inner circle, with ornamental spray projecting in front of bust. Rev. + / D / V / D divided by four enclosed and jewelled lobes, with four further lobes in outer angles; the inner circle contains a cross botonnée with four petals in saltire. EMC 2008.0245. 1.21 g. Found near Harston, Cambridgeshire, by 2008. Note: the reverse includes additional lobes, producing an interesting floral effect.
11. Chick 20 [Offa: London, Dud] Obv. +OFFA REX+ around a diademed bust right breaking a beaded inner circle, with ornamental spray projecting in front of bust. Rev. + / D / V / D divided by four enclosed lobes containing trefoil-headed sceptres of linear variety; the inner circle contains a linear cross botonnée with four petals in saltire. EMC 2008.0375. 0.97 g. Found near Market Rasen, Lincolnshire, by 2008.
12. Chick 24 [Offa: London, Dud] Obv. OFFA REX in field before a large, elaborately draped and distinctive bust right, the head diademed with ties. Rev. + / ð / U / ð in angles of a large cross of lobes with trefoil-headed sceptres in each lobe over a saltire cross botonnée. PAS KENT-1C89E2. 1.1 g (to one decimal place), 16 mm. Same dies as Chick 24 (a). Found near Wingham, Kent, April 2007.
13. Chick 24 [Offa: London, Dud] Obv. OFFA REX in field before a large, elaborately draped and distinctive bust right, the head diademed with ties. Rev. + / ð / U / ð in angles of a large cross of lobes with trefoil-headed sceptres in each lobe over a saltire cross botonnée. EMC 2007.0181/ PAS KENT-CE7AE1. *Coin Register* 2008, no. 211. 1.3 g (to one decimal place), 16 mm. Same dies as Chick 24 (a). Found near Allhallows, Medway, February 2007.
14. Chick 30 [Offa: London, Dud] Obv. +O / FF / A R / EX (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a cross fourchée over a smaller cross voided with rounded ends, containing a beaded cross. Rev. + / ð / U / ð in the angles of a large cross of lobes, each lobe containing a trefoil-headed sceptre; overlaid by a saltire cross botonnée. EMC 2009.0413. 0.99 g.

- Found near Herongate, Essex, December 2009.
Same dies as Chick 30(a); and same obverse die as Chick 29(a).
15. Chick 31 [Offa: London, Eadhun]
Obv. OFFĀ in field before bust right with elaborate hairstyle.
Rev. +E / AÐ / HV / UN in the angles of a lozenge cross crosslet with small plain cross at centre.
EMC 2008.0374.
1.08 g.
Same dies as Chick 31 (c), (d) and (e).
Found near Chelmsford, Essex, by 2008.
16. Chick 31 [Offa: London, Eadhun]
Obv. OFFĀ in field before bust right with elaborate hairstyle.
Rev. +E / AÐ / HV / UN in the angles of a lozenge cross crosslet with small plain cross at centre.
PAS BUC-D5B3E5.
0.99 g (chipped), 17 mm.
Same dies as Chick 31 (c), (d) and (e).
Found near Hardwick, Buckinghamshire, August 2005.
17. Chick 37 [Offa: London, Ealhmund]
Obv. +OFFĀ REX+ around bare-headed and undraped bust right with distinctive ‘horned’ shoulders and pendant with or without chain at neck; the head within a broken, beaded inner circle.
Rev. AÐLH || MUN || Ð surrounded by a serpent torque, divided by line of pellets.
Baldwin’s catalogue Winter 2008, no. BH062.
No wt.
Same dies as Chick 37 (o).
18. Chick 37 [Offa: London, Ealhmund]
Obv. [+OFFĀ REX+] around bare-headed and undraped bust right with distinctive ‘horned’ shoulders and pendant with or without chain at neck; the head within a broken, beaded inner circle.
Rev. AÐLH || MUN || Ð in three lines, divided by beaded line, surrounded by serpent torque.
EMC 2009.0139/PAS SUSS-3CD791.
0.64 g (small fragment), 270°.
Probably same obverse die as Chick 37 (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e).
Found at Clapham, West Sussex, March 2008.
19. Chick 38 [Offa: London, Ealhmund]
Obv. O / F || R / M in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with pellet in annulet at centre.
Rev. AÐLH || MUN || Ð in three lines, and divided by a beaded bar with fleury ends and Ð below.
EMC 2008.0214.
No wt.
Found near Maidstone, Kent, 2008.
20. Chick 45A (new type) [Offa: London, Ealhmund]
Obv. OFFĀ REX MERIORV around inner circle containing diademed and cuirassed bust right.
Rev. +E / AÐ || MV / ND within four petals forming cross; annulet in each angle.
EMC 2007.0165/PAS LEIC-94EB56. *Coin Register* 2008, no. 212.
1.2 g (recorded to one decimal place).
Found near Kirkby Mallory, Leicestershire, 2007.
Note: a new combination of bust-type with this legend and reverse design.
21. Chick 55 [Offa: London, Ibba]
Obv. [O]FFĀ / [RE]X (downwards) divided by diademed bust right without diadem ties, with curved shoulders and collar.
Rev. [+I] / B / B / A in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with plain cross in centre.
EMC 2007.0064/PAS SF-3144F8. *Coin Register* 2008, no. 214.
0.81 g (fragment), 90°.
Probably same dies as Chick 55 (b) and (c).
Found near Aldeby, Norfolk, by 2007.
22. Chick 55 [Offa: London, Ibba]
Obv. OFFĀ / REX (downwards) divided by diademed bust right without diadem ties, with curved shoulders and collar.
Rev. +I / B / B / A in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with plain cross in centre.
PAS SUR-3017D5.

- 0.97 g (slightly chipped), 16mm.
Found near Broughton, Hampshire, March 2008.
23. Chick 55 [Offa: London, Ibba]
Obv. OFF~~A~~ / REX (downwards) divided by diademed bust right without diadem ties, with curved shoulders and collar.
Rev. +I / B / B / A in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with plain cross in centre.
PAS BUC-BAE5D3.
No wt (slightly chipped), 17 mm.
Found near Cadmore End, Buckinghamshire, March 2006.
24. Chick 71A (new type) [Offa: London, Winoth]
Obv. +OFF~~A~~ REX+ around cuirassed and diademed bust right, breaking inner circle.
Rev. U / UI / N / Oð in angles of lozenge cross fleury containing annulet and four pellets.
Private collection; and ex Lockdale's 2006.
1.05 g.
Note: a new layout for the reverse legend.
25. Chick 75 [Offa: London, Winoth]
Obv. OFF~~A~~ || REX in two lines divided by a beaded bar with crossed terminals.
Rev. UU / IN / O / ð (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with single pairs of fleurs; in centre, a saltire cross with a pellet in each angle.
EMC 2007.0072. *Coin Register* 2008, no. 215.
1.07 g (slightly chipped), 90°.
Found near Grimsby, North East Lincolnshire, by 2007.
26. Chick 76 [Offa: London, Winoth]
Obv. OFF~~A~~ || REX in two lines divided by a beaded bar with floreate terminals.
Rev. UU / IN / O / ð (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with single pairs of fleurs, with long cross over saltire of petals in centre.
Offered for sale on www.ebay.co.uk, September 2009.
No wt.
Probably found in Wiltshire, September 2009.
Same dies as Chick 76 (b).
27. Chick 76 [Offa: London, Winoth]
Obv. OFF~~A~~ || REX in two lines divided by a beaded bar with fleurs at each end.
Rev. UU / IN / O / ð (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with single pairs of fleurs; saltire cross with pellet in each angle in centre.
PAS BH-349AD7.
1.03 g (badly chipped), 14 mm.
Found in South Cambridgeshire, October 2008.
28. Chick 79 [Offa: London, Bishop Eadberht]
Obv. OF / F~~A~~ / RE / X+ around a large lozenge with incurved sides, and with a small, plain circle at the centre containing a cross of four petals superimposed on a saltire with a trefoil of pellets at each terminal.
Rev. ADB || ERH in two lines within a beaded rectangle, divided horizontally by a plain bar with forked finials; a cross above and EP below.
PAS YORYM-0AF1A5.
1.2 g (recorded to one decimal place).
Found near Tolleshunt Major, Essex, by 2009.
29. Chick 80 [Offa: London, Bishop Eadberht]
Obv. O / F~~T~~ || R / M (four pellets in centre of O; M with extended and slashed central leg) in two lines, in the angles of a long cross crosslet with a large annulet containing a rosette of pellets in centre.
Rev. EAD || BERH || T EP (EP ligatured) in three lines divided by two beaded bars.
The Searcher 289 (September 2009), p. 69.
No wt (badly chipped).
Found near Burgess Hill, West Sussex, July 2009 (PAS SUSS-5492C0).
Same obverse die as Chick 80 (a) and (b).
Same reverse die as Chick 80 (c).
30. Chick 80 [Offa: London, Bishop Eadberht]
Obv. O / F~~T~~ || R / M (four pellets in centre of O; M with extended and slashed central leg) in two lines, in the angles of a long cross crosslet with a large annulet containing a rosette of pellets in centre.

Rev. **€AD || BERH || T EP** (EP ligatured) in three lines divided by two beaded bars.
 Numismatik Lanz (Munich) auction 27.5.2008, lot 551.
 1.08 g.

31. Chick 89 [Offa: Canterbury, Babba]
 Obv. **O / F / [F / A]** in the angles of a long cross-crosslet over circle containing a lozenge with rosette in centre.
 Rev. **B / A / [BB / A]** in the angles of a lozenge with crossed finials, containing a rosette.
 PAS KENT-F07B14.
 1.05 g (fragment), 17 mm.
 Same dies as Chick 89 (c).
 Found at West Peckham, Kent, September 2006.
32. Chick 98 [Offa: Canterbury, Ealred]
 Obv. **OFFA in front of REX** (REX retrograde) behind bust right; bare-headed and with curly hair and heavy, squat bust with distinctive decorative panels.
 Rev. **+E / AL / R / EO** with fleurs composed of two pommée-headed lines in the angles; a lozenge in the centre containing a cross or saltire with symbols in the angles.
 Private collection; uncertain provenance.
 No wt.
 Same obverse die as Chick 98 (a), (b), (c) and (d).
33. Chick 101 [Offa: Canterbury, Ealred]
 Obv. **OFFA || REX** divided by a beaded bar with fleur at each end and with cross in upper lunette.
 Rev. **+E / AL / RE / O** in the angles of a long cross-crosslet with annulet at centre containing a rosette.
 EMC 2009.0330.
 No wt.
 Found in Lincolnshire, by October 2009.
34. Chick 104 [Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. **Ω / F** in beaded standard; **R / M** below, bisected by standard pole with cross at top; smaller crosses on either side.
 Rev. **E / Ω || B / A** in the angles of a cross fleury (to be read as either a circular or two-line inscription) with a large annulet containing a saltire of pellets at centre.
 Ex Lockdales auctions 71, 22.3.2009, lot 438.
 No wt.
 Same obverse die as Chick 104 (c).
 Found near Shotesham, Norfolk, November 2008 (EMC 2009.0014).
35. Chick 106 [Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. **Ω F** in a square of pellets, with a line of pellets protruding diagonally from each corner; **R M** below, cross above, ornaments in field.
 Rev. **E / Ω || B / A** (lozenge-shaped **Ω**) in angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.
 EMC 2008.0372.
 1.15 g.
 Found near Monkton, Kent, September 2008.
 Same dies as Chick 106 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (h).
36. Chick 111A (new type) [Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. **R / E || X / M** around a square of pellets with a crosslet at each corner and reversed **OF** in centre.
 Rev. **E / Ω / B / A** in the angles of a cross fleury with annulet at centre containing a saltire of pellets.
 Ex Spink's auction 25.3.2010, lot 11.
 No wt.
 Found in North Yorkshire by 2009.
 Probably same reverse die as Chick 111 (a).
37. Chick 117 [Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. **+O / FF / A R / EX** in the angles of a long cross botonnée with a small lobe in each angle.
 Rev. **E / Ω / B / A** in the angles of a Celtic cross with fleurs on limbs and a cross at centre, a pellet in each angle.
 1.16 g (chipped).
 Found near Royston, Hertfordshire, November 2009.
 Same obverse die as Chick 117 (a) and (b).
38. Chick 122 [Offa: Canterbury, Heaberht]
 Obv. **+O / FF / A R / EX** in the angles of a long cross botonnée with small lobe at each angle.

- Rev. **H / A / BE** (ligatured) / R* in the angles of a celtic cross with a long cross fleury on limbs and small cross saltire in centre.
 EMC 2009.0005.
 1.06 g.
 Found near Wingham, Kent, November 2007.
 Same obverse die as Chick 122 (a).
39. Chick 126 [Offa: Canterbury, Pehtweald]
 Obv. Ornately detailed bust right with elaborate hairstyle; OFFA RE in field before face; X behind.
 Rev. PE / H / V A / L O in angles of celtic cross with a long cross fleury on limbs, over a small saltire cross of petals in centre.
 EMC 2009.0116.
 No wt.
 Same reverse die as Chick 130 (a) and (b).
 Found near Wragby, Lincolnshire, January 2009.
40. Chick 128 [Offa: Canterbury, Pehtweald]
 Obv. +OFFA REX+ around bust right of Ciolhard style but with more elaborate hair; beaded inner circle.
 Rev. PE / H / V A / L O in the angles of a celtic cross with a long cross fleury on limbs over small saltire cross of petals in centre.
 EMC 2010.0110.
 1.15 g.
 Found near Tilbury, Essex, 2007.
 Note: this coin is of noticeably finer style than the other two surviving specimens of Chick 128.
41. Chick 129 [Offa: Canterbury, Pehtweald]
 Obv. +OFFA REX+ around cuirassed bust right, breaking beaded inner circle.
 Rev. PE / H / V A / L O in the angles of a celtic cross with a long cross fleury on limbs over small saltire cross of petals in centre.
 EMC 2008.0160.
 1.16 g.
 Same obverse die as Chick 129 (c), (d) and (e).
 Found near Linton, Cambridgeshire, by 2008.
42. Chick 130 [Offa: Canterbury, Pehtweald]
 Obv. +O / FF / A R / EX in the angles of a long cross botonnée with small lobe in each angle.
 Rev. PE / H / V A / L O in the angles of a voided cross with a long cross fleury on limbs over small saltire in centre.
 PAS BERK-2BABE0.
 1.2 g (to one decimal place), 90°, 17 mm.
 Same dies as Chick 130 (g).
 Found near Blewbury, Oxfordshire, April 2009.
43. Chick 131 [Offa: Canterbury, Tirwald]
 Obv. +OFFA REX around a central rosette, within a serpent wreath.
 Rev. T / IR / VV / A I / D in the angles of a cross of lobes, with a trefoil-headed sceptre within each lobe and in the angles of the cross.
 Ex Dix, Noonan and Webb auction 85, 17.3.2010, lot 237.
 1.2 g (recorded to one decimal place).
 Same dies as Chick 131 (a).
 Found near Newark, Nottinghamshire, November 2009 (EMC 2009.0368).
 Note: a somewhat anomalous type, combining a reverse associated with Group H (Fig. 9) with an obverse of unusual style. This is probably the earliest type associated with Tirwald.
44. Chick 143 [Cynethryth: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. female bust right with elaborate, curly hairstyle, inspired by Roman imperial coinage and with complex drapery below; trefoil of pellets behind head; EOB A in field before face (lozenge-shaped O).
 Rev. LFNEORF REGINA around a beaded inner circle containing M-.
 Ex Classical Numismatic Group auction 78, 14.5.2008, lot 2123; and ex Susan and Eddy Quinn collection.
 1.29 g, 180°.
 Same dies as Chick 143 (d) and (e).
 Same obverse die as Chick 143 (f) and (g).

45. Chick 143 [Cynethryth: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. female bust right with elaborate, curly hairstyle, inspired by Roman imperial coinage and with complex drapery below; trefoil of pellets behind head; **EΩBΩ** in field before face (lozenge-shaped O).
 Rev. **CYNEðRYð REGIN-** around a beaded inner circle containing **M-**.
 Ex Spink; and ex Mark Rasmussen (not in catalogue).
 1.05 g, 0°.
 Same reverse die as Chick 143 (g), (h) and (i).
46. Chick 147 [Cynethryth: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. large, crude female bust right; **EΩBΩ** in field before face (lozenge-shaped O).
 Rev. **+CYNEðRYð REGINΩ** around beaded inner circle containing **M-**.
 Ex Morton & Eden auction 9.6.2009, lot 143.
 0.98 g.
 Found near Worthing, West Sussex, November 2008 (EMC 2009.0100/PAS SUSS-2E92D1).
 Note: this cruder form of bust is not identical in style to those on other specimens of type 147, presumably indicating that unavailability of fine portrait dies was not an isolated occurrence.
47. Chick 148 [Cynethryth: Canterbury, Eoba]
 Obv. **+CYNEðRYð REGINΩ** around beaded inner circle containing **M-**.
 Rev. **+E / Ω || B / A** (lozenge-shaped O) (intended to be read across the field in two lines), each letter on a limb of a cross of lobes, with fleurs in angles.
 EMC 2008.0332/PAS BERK-328187.
 1.00 g, 45°.
 Found near Ewelme, Oxfordshire, by 2008.
48. Chick 152A (new type) [Offa and Archbishop Jænberht: Canterbury]
 Obv. **OFFA || REX** in two lunettes, divided by two bars with crossed outer finials.
 Rev. **+JÆNBERHT AIEPI** around plain inner circle containing cross botonnée superimposed on saltire.
 Ex Spink's auction 198, 19.3.2009, lot 165.
 No wt.
 Found near Claxby Pluckacre, Lincolnshire, January 2009.
 Note: a new obverse type, with some minor differences in the central device on the reverse with respect to type 152.
49. Chick 152A (new type) [Offa and Archbishop Jænberht: Canterbury]
 Obv. **OFFA || REX** in two lunettes, divided by two bars with crossed outer finials.
 Rev. **+JÆNBERHT AIEPI** around plain inner circle containing cross botonnée superimposed on saltire.
 EMC 2009.0358.
 No wt (chipped).
 Found near Maidstone, Kent, October 2009.
50. Chick 181A (new type) [Offa: East Anglian mint, Wihtred]
 Obv. **OF / FΩ / RE / X** (lozenge-shaped O) between four pellet-encircled bosses at the points of a cross of petals over a plain inner circle; a boss at centre with a pellet in each angle.
 Rev. **P / IH / TR / E / D** in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury; in the centre a small saltire with pellets at centre and in angles.
 Baldwin's fixed price list, Winter 2009, no. BH077.
 1.09 g (slightly chipped).
 Same obverse die as Chick 181(a).
51. Chick 201 [Offa: London, Beagheard]
 Obv. **M-** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines across field; divided by beaded bars.
 Rev. **+BEAX || HEARDΩ** in two curved lunettes divided by a beaded bar terminating at each end with small wedges.
 EMC 2009.0344.
 No wt (badly chipped).
 Same dies as Chick 201 (b) and (c).
 Found near Ludford, Lincolnshire, 2008.
52. Chick 205 [Offa: London, Ealhmund]
 Obv. **M-** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines across field divided by beaded bars.

- Rev. **EALH VND** around a small celtic cross in centre containing pellet.
 Found in excavations at the Friends Provident St Marys' Stadium, Southampton, 1998–2000 (Metcalf 2005, no. C19).
 No wt (chipped and mineralised).
 Probably same dies as Chick 205 (a).
53. Chick 211A [Offa: London, Ludomon]
 Obv. **M̄** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines across field divided by beaded bars.
 Rev. **+LVD** || **OMON** (lozenge-shaped O) in two lines divided by a beaded bar, all within a Boeotian shield-like device.
 1.41 g.
 Found near Devizes, Wiltshire, by April 2010.
 Note: a new arrangement of the reverse legend.
54. Chick 213 [Offa: London, Winoth]
 Obv. **M̄** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines across field; no dividing bars.
 Rev. **UU** / **IN** / **◎** / **◎** (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a lozenge cross fleury with single pairs of fleurs; in centre a plain cross with saltire superimposed.
 1.25 g.
 Same dies as Chick 213 (a).
 Same reverse die as Chick 75 (b).
 Found at Valkenburg, Netherlands (NUMIS no. 1029877).
55. Chick 214 [Offa: London, Winoth]
 Obv. **M̄** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines divided by two beaded bars.
 Rev. **VVI** || **NO◎** (lozenge-shaped O) in two lines divided by a bone-shaped device containing a row of pellets.
 No wt.
 EMC 2008.0215.
 Same obverse die as Chick 214 (i).
 Found near Harrietsham, Kent, 2008.
56. Chick 219 [Offa: Canterbury, Babba] [obv. only illustrated on Pl. 8]
 Obv. **+OFFA REX M̄** (lozenge-shaped) around plain inner circle containing rosette.
 Rev. **o Mo** || **BABB** || two X's joined by one leg, with five pellets arranged in four upper angles and in centre; all in three lines, divided by two plain bars (?).
 PAS NARC-DC37D2.
 1.5 g (to one decimal place), 19 mm.
 Same obverse die as Chick 219 (a) [images available of obverse only].
 Found near Stowe Nine Churches, Northamptonshire, November 2007.
57. Chick 231 [Offa: Canterbury, Æthelnoth]
 Obv. **M̄** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines divided by two beaded bars.
 Rev. **EPEL** || **NOP** (lozenge-shaped O) in two lines divided by a beaded bar with cross at each end, all within a Boeotian shield-like device.
 Private collection; and ex Lockdale's auction 15.1.2006, lot 422.
 1.36 g.
 Same dies as Chick 231 (a).
58. Chick 235 [Offa: Canterbury, Æthelnoth]
 Obv. **M̄** with three pellets on either side || **+OFFA** (lozenge-shaped O) || **REX** in three lines, the upper and lower elements within lunettes.
 Rev. **+** || **EPEL** || **NO** (lozenge-shaped O) in three lines, the upper and lower elements within lunettes.
 1.22 g, 270°.
 Found on the Isle of Wight, by 2008.
59. Chick 237 [Offa: Canterbury, Osmod]
 Obv. **+OFFA REX ME** (lozenge-shaped O) around plain inner circle.
 Rev. **OS** / **M** / **O** / **D**
 Ex Tom Cederlind auction 150, 2.3.2009, lot 316.
 1.32 g.
 Probably same reverse die as Chick 237 (c).

60. Chick 246 [Offa and Archbishop *A*ethelheard: Canterbury]
Obv. ⠃ with three pellets either side || +OFFA (square-shaped O) || REX in three lines divided by two beaded bars with crossed terminals.
Rev. +ÆDILHEARD POT around plain inner circle containing small saltire superimposed on long cross.
Private collection.
No wt.
Found near Devizes, Wiltshire, 2008.
61. Chick 247 [Offa and Archbishop *A*ethelheard: Canterbury]
Obv. ⠃ with three pellets either side || +OFFA (lozenge-shaped O) || REX in three lines divided by two plain bars.
Rev. ÆDIL || HEARD || ARCEPI in three lines divided by two plain bars.
PAS KENT-3CB7A7.
1.4 g (to one decimal place), 20 mm.
Same obverse die as Chick 247 (e).
Found near Otford, Kent, March 2009.
62. Chick 251 [Offa: East Anglian mint, Lul]
Obv. [⠃ with three pellets either side || +]OFF[A] (lozenge-shaped O) || RE[X] in three lines divided by two beaded bars.
Rev. [+]/L/U/[L] on the leaves of a quatrefoil divided by a beaded cross, with trefoil of pellets in each spandrel.
EMC 2009.0313.
No wt (small fragment).
Found near Blythburgh, Suffolk, 2009.
63. Uncertain [Offa: uncertain mint]
Obv. ⠃ with three pellets either side || +OFFA (lozenge-shaped O) || REX in three lines divided by two beaded bars.
Rev. uncertain.
PAS SWYOR-F33767.
1.2 g (to one decimal place; bent in half), 18 mm.
Found near Ludford, Lincolnshire, February 2007.

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

THE COINAGE OF JOHN BALIOL

N.M.McQ. HOLMES AND LORD STEWARTBY

IN or about the year 1280 a major change was made in the design and inscriptions of the Scottish coinage of Alexander III (1249–86), following the example of Edward I's recoinage in England in 1279. Since 1180 in England and 1195 in Scotland the reverse type had been based on a voided cross, with ornaments in the angles, but in 1279/80 this was replaced by a single cross; and at the same time the names of moneyer and mint, traditional on Scottish coins from the beginning, were dropped from the reverse in favour of the completion of the king's title, REX SCOTORVM. This formula then continued in use until mint names were restored in 1358. A general discussion of the *Rex Scotorum* sterlings, their mint attributions and the historical background, was published by Stewart in 1971.¹ The *Rex Scotorum* single cross coinage in the name of Alexander III was subsequently examined by Stewart and North in 1990,² and that in the name of Robert I (1306–29), with the earliest coins of David II (1329–71), by Holmes and Stewartby in 2000.³ Between the untimely death of Alexander III and the middle years of Robert Bruce the reign of John Baliol, acknowledged as king from November 1292 until July 1296, constitutes the only period in which coins were struck in Scotland in the name of a current Scottish king. John's coinage merits more detailed consideration than it has hitherto received in print, although we are happy to acknowledge the unpublished work of earlier students. In particular we wish to thank Mr Walter Elliot and Mr Peter Stott, who collated evidence for dies and die-links and who have made their material available to us; and Mr Jeffrey North, who brought his taxonomic skills to bear on the difficult task of devising a structure and sequence for the series based on typological and stylistic features.

From the 1290s onwards England and Scotland were for many years more or less actively at war. The large numbers of resultant hoards have yielded an abundance of Scottish coins from the last two decades of the thirteenth century. Edward I's recoinage of 1279 began with very heavy minting in the 1280s, but this tailed off in the 1290s as continental imitations began to enter the country without being converted into English coin. To a certain extent the same happened with foreign coin reaching Scotland, but Baliol's own coinage is relatively large: the number of obverse penny dies in the sample here studied is fifty-eight. After allowing for the much larger English economy and currency, that die total looks quite high when set against dwindling output from the English mints in the mid 1290s.⁴

Burns divided the Baliol coinage into two issues, which he termed 'rough' and 'smooth'.⁵ The second issue is from dies with a finely engraved portrait and a bolder letter font (including A with a chevron bar) and deserves its appellation. Although coins of the first issue are generally coarser than those of the second, and many of them are indeed rough in style and execution, the term is a little harsh in respect of some of them (notably those of our groups A and C). Pence of the rough issue are considerably more plentiful than those of the smooth issue. With halfpence the position is reversed: all rough issue halfpence are extremely rare, while smooth issue halfpence from the main mint are comparatively common.

¹ Stewart 1971, 214–25.

² Stewart and North 1990.

³ Holmes and Stewartby 2000.

⁴ We have deliberately not included in this paper any attempt to calculate the overall size of the Baliol coinage, but for a brief discussion of this see Stewart 1977, 70. We have provided the number of coins of each recorded die combination in our sample, which includes a very large proportion of the dies which are known to have been used. Others are free to use this data to carry out their own calculations.

⁵ Burns 1887, vol. 1, 222 ff.

The most interesting numismatic innovation of John's reign was the naming of St Andrews as a second mint, the only occurrence of a mint name during the *Rex Scotorum* era. As the see of a bishop St Andrews qualified to be called a *civitas* (city) and was the sole mint-town so designated in the whole of the Scottish coinage. The first issue sterlings of St Andrews have two six-pointed mullets and two with five points, this being one of the rarer of the nine varieties of reverse type found in Alexander III's second coinage. In the smooth issue the six-pointed mullets have been replaced by stars.

The only royal mint of the Baliol coinage is presumed to have been Berwick. In the first issue its pennies had four six-pointed mullets on the reverse. This was the same type as for the main mint of Alexander III's second coinage which, in turn, is taken to have been Berwick because that had been the dominant Scottish mint in Alexander's first coinage. It was also the only mint in Scotland where Edward I had his own coinage struck after John had been deposed in 1296, implying that mint premises were available there to the English when they took control of the town.

Although the smooth issue *Rex Scotorum* pence have mullets with twenty points in total (4×5), against twenty-four points (4×6) in the rough issue, there is no case for thinking that the rough and smooth *Rex Scotorum* pence represent the products of two different mints rather than sequential issues. Mules (both pence and halfpence) with reverses from old dies of Alexander III place their rough issue obverses securely in the opening phase of Baliol's coinage, while the die-chain at St Andrews includes rough/smooth mules that demonstrate the sequence. The change from rough reverses with twenty-four points to smooth reverses with twenty points seems to indicate no more than that the Alexandrian system of varied points for different mints had by this stage been forgotten or ignored, now that only one royal mint was in operation. Although it cannot at this stage be definitely proven that a second mint was not opened after the fall of Berwick to the English, we feel that the weight of evidence is firmly against this, given the very unsettled situation which must have pertained in Scotland during the period of William Wallace's campaigns.⁶

We have listed and described the rough issue coins of Berwick in three groups – A, B and C – with sub-divisions of B and C. All dies except one have the inscription IOHANNES DEI GRA (or GR, GRI or GRAC), with the king's title continued on the reverse. The reading is awkwardly disposed, with REX split between two quarters: +RE/XSC/OTO/RVM. During the course of Group B one obverse die was put into use with the reading ALEXANDER DEI GR. This die shares four reverse dies with normal coins of Group B, and except in the king's name is identical in type and style with them. If there was any significance in the production of a die in the name of the late king, it is difficult to see what that could have been; there was no obvious occasion during the early part of John's reign when the legitimacy of his position was seriously in question. Perhaps there was an old die in Alexander's name for the rough issue die-sinker to copy – that a few old Alexandrian reverses remained available in 1292 is shown by the John/Alexander mules – but why the engraver might suddenly have departed from his usual commission is a mystery. An oddity in Group Ba is a die (*am*) with the last quarter reading RAN. This die appears to have been put aside for a while because of the error, since it reappears later in conjunction with two obverse dies (25 and 26) of group Ca.

The mint at St Andrews began operations during the course of what we term Group Bd at Berwick. The first obverse die (S1) used at St Andrews is from the same punches as Bd obverses, and it is found combined with a normal Bd reverse (die *ay*) as well as with a new St Andrews die, still reading REX SCOTORVM, but now with twenty-two points to the mullets (*Sa*). One other reverse die (*Sb*) has this arrangement, but soon REX SCOTORVM was dropped in favour of a St Andrews signature (die *Sc* and thereafter). The relatively large number of rough/smooth issue mules suggests that the supply of smooth issue dies to St Andrews began with reverses. The earliest smooth issue obverse die has the experimental reading I

⁶ This matter was discussed by Stewart (1971), 222–3, and we are not aware that any evidence has been put forward since then.

DI GRA SCOTORVM RX, presumably so as to accommodate the king's full title without displacing the mint name from the reverse. This format was, however, soon replaced by the normal obverse reading IOHANNES DEI GRA, which resulted, as had been the case in most of the first issue, in the absence of the word REX from either side of most of the coins minted at St Andrews. All St Andrews coins of the second issue (apart from the mules) are rare.

Apart from a few minor errors, and on some early dies the use of a reversed N, inscriptions on pence of Berwick exhibit little variation except in the word GRA(CIA). However, because of differences in the arrangement of the legend and in the disposition of the mullets, there are nine main varieties of reverse among the coins of St Andrews, as hereunder:

First issue

- (i) +RE/XSC/OTO/RVM; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles (*Sa*)
- (ii) As (i), but six-pointed mullets in second and fourth angles (*Sb*)
- (iii) CIV/ITA/SSA/NDR; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles (*Sc*)
- (iv) As (iii), but six-pointed mullets in second and fourth angles (*Sg*)
- (v) CIVI/TAS/SAN/DRE; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles (*Sd, Se*)
- (vi) As (v), but six-pointed mullets in second and fourth angles (*Sf, Sh, Si, Sj, Sl, Sm*)
- (vii) As (v), but error die with twenty-three points – six-pointed mullets in first, third and fourth angles, five-pointed mullet in second (*Sk*)

Second issue

- (viii) CIVI/TAS/SAN/DREE; six-pointed stars in first and third angles, and five-pointed mullets in second and fourth (*Sn, So, Sq*)
- (ix) As (viii), but six-pointed stars in second and fourth angles (*Sp*)

Three features of the *Rex Scotorum* coins of the second issue are worthy of particular note. First, whereas reverse die-links between sub-groups of the first issue are extensive, none has been noted between any of the five sub-groups of the second issue. This implies some new system of control for the issue and withdrawal of dies. Second, within Group Ec, the last group of the series, two obverse dies and one reverse die have a trefoil of pellets within the inscription, also a possible indicator of new controls on the use of dies.

The third feature of note relates to the coins of Group Da. In this group all seven of the reverse dies have two five-pointed mullets and two five-pointed stars in alternate angles of the cross. The stars have been made by overpunching on what were originally normal mullets. All but one of the twenty-two coins listed under Da are from a single obverse die. Since there are no die-links with any other coins of the smooth issue, the Da coins stand on their own. There was clearly some purpose in the overmarking of the mullets. Conceivably the Da coins could have been struck at a different mint (or workshop) from the rest of the series, but some less dramatic administrative cause seems more probable.

Die analysis

In the following pages the issues without mint name, generally believed to have been struck at Berwick, will be considered first. The first ('rough') and second ('smooth') issues are analysed separately, as there is no known overlap between the two. The issues from the St Andrews mint, including those without mint name but attributed to this mint, are then treated as a continuous series, since there are mules between the two issues.

Table 1 presents the numbers of pennies and obverse dies attributable to each of the groups and sub-groups in our classification.

The vast majority of the recorded dies are represented in Lord Stewartby's collection, which has been the major source of material for this survey. Other coins which have been included are those in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Hunterian Museum, as well as some illustrated in a series of photographs kindly supplied by Mr Ronald Kirton from his research archive.

TABLE 1. Numbers of pennies and obverse dies attributable to groups and sub-groups

	No. of coins (group)	No. of coins (subgroup)	No. of obverse dies (group)	No. of obverse dies (subgroup)
<i>Rex Scotorum, first issue</i>				
Group A	13		3	
Group B	104		18	
Ba		43		7
Alex III J		9		1
Bb		25		4
Bc		14		4
Bd		13		2
Group C	31		8	
Ca		25		6
Cb		6		2
<i>Rex Scotorum, second issue</i>				
Group D	52		6	
Da		21		2
Db		31		4
Group E	31		7	
Ea		3		2
Eb		7		2
Ec		21		3
<i>St Andrews, first and second issues</i>				
Group SA	4		2	
SAa		3		1
SAb		1		1
Group SB	15		5	
SBa		7		2
SBb		4		1
SBc		4		2
Group SC	32		5	
Mules	12		1	
Group SD	15		3	
SDa		7		1
SDb		8		2

First issue: *Rex Scotorum* pennies

This is the largest issue in terms of the number of coins studied (136 + 9 of the related Alexander III Class J) and the number of dies represented (28 obverse + one Alexander III Class J, and 32 reverse). It has been divided into a number of groups on the basis of the style of the bust and lettering on the obverse. The reverse dies, designated *aa* to *bf*, bear the legend **+R_E / XSC / OTO / RVM**. The form of the final **M** varies considerably and in some cases is unclear, especially where it is known on only one coin. It may take the form of a Roman **M**, a Roman **N**, a reversed Roman **I** or an unbarred **II**. Some **N**s and **I**s are double-barred, and some letters appear to be blundered or from broken punches. All dies bear a six-pointed mullet in each of the four angles of the cross, but in some cases there is evidence of damaged punches, and on some dies one or more of the mullets may appear to have more than six points as a result of faulty die-sinking.

Group A

This small group is quite distinct stylistically, and there are no known die links with any of the others. The coins are comparatively well struck, with small neat inner circles, large letters and a fairly neat portrait. The face has a pointed nose and chin, with an oval eye. Three obverse dies are known (dies 1–3), all of which have reversed **I**s in the legend, but each of which includes a different abbreviation of GRACIA.

- 1 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRI
- 2 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRΛ
- 3 +IOhΛNNESDEIGR

The first two of these are paired with a single die of Alexander III Class E (24 points), and it therefore seems reasonable to suggest that these were the earliest coins struck in John Baliol's name. Five Baliol reverse dies (*aa–ae*) are also found in combination with obverses of Group A, as indicated in Table 2. These five dies are all characterised by large, fairly neat letters and large, sharply-pointed mullets. Die *ae* has Ε instead of Ο in the legend.

TABLE 2. Die-links in first issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies, Group A

<i>Group</i>	<i>Rev die</i>	<i>Alex III E</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>ae</i>
	<i>Obv die</i>						
A	1	3					
	2	1	2	2	2	1	
	3					2	

The remainder of the first issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies make up Groups B and C. Table 3 shows a progression of die links which may give clues to the order of striking, but this should not be interpreted as providing a definite and precise sequence. Obverse die 4 has been placed at the beginning of the series, on the grounds that it is combined on one coin with a reverse of Alexander III, Class E (26 points), but this reverse die appears to have been rusty at the time of striking, so the coin could equally represent an accidental later re-use. Nonetheless a credible sequence of die use can be constructed using this coin as a starting point.

Group Ba

Forty-two of the coins examined belong to this group, with seven obverse dies (4–10) being utilised. These include the same three abbreviated forms of GRACIA as appeared in Group A. Die 4 uses double-barred Ns, and die 6 one reversed Ι and one with apparently horizontal cross-bar. The lettering is smaller and less tidy than on Group A coins, and the bust is noticeably cruder, with a wedge-shaped nose and a large pellet eye. The crown has intermediate ornaments which incline to the rear, and that on die 10 is badly struck and may be from a different punch.

- 4 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRΛ (double-barred Ns)
- 5 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRΛ
- 6 +IOhΛHNESDEIGR
- 7 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRΛ
- 8 +IOh[]SDEIGRΛ
- 9 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRΙ
- 10 +IOhΛNNESDEIGRΛ

Twelve reverse dies (*af–aq*) appear, in addition to the re-used Alexander III. Most of these have fairly well formed and sharply pointed mullets, but on a few of them (*ak, an, aq*) the mullets appear a little smaller with blunter points and some evidence of damage to the punches. Die *ae* reads XSE in the second quarter, as noted under *Group A*, and die *am* has RΛN in the fourth quarter. The largest number of coins in the sample examined were struck from dies *af, ag* and *ah*, which might be regarded as consistent with these being among the earliest, as the die sequence would also suggest. Two of the coins were struck from a combination of obverse die 9 and reverse die *ap*, neither of which is known in any other combination, and their place in the series is therefore not evident.

TABLE 3. Die-links in first issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies, Groups B and C

Alexander III Class J

This small group of unusual coins (nine have been examined) is placed here in the sequence on grounds of both style and die links. There is just a single obverse die, reading +ALEXANDERDEIGR, with the crown, hair and face punches apparently being those also used for Baliol's Group Bb (see below). It is combined with four reverse dies also used for Baliol's coinage: *aj*, which is known only for Group Ba; *an* and *aq*, which occur in both Ba and Bb; and *ar*, which is known only for Bb.

Group Bb

This group, of which twenty-five examples were studied, contains coins of similar style to those of Ba, but with a new crown and a face punch displaying an aquiline nose and a large solid oval eye with a thick crescent above. Four obverse dies are known (11–14), all with slightly different readings. This is the last group in which reversed *Is* occur (13 and 14), and the abbreviations GR Λ C and GR Λ : occur for the first time.

- 11 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ
- 12 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ
- 13 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ
- 14 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ :

Seven reverse dies are used (*an* and *aq*, which also occur in Group Ba; and *ar*–*av*). Die *ar* was also used for the Alexander III Class J coins, whereas the remainder seem to have been employed for the first time in association with Bb obverses. Twelve of the twenty-five coins are from die *at*, with the next highest contributor in the sample being *as*, with four. This die, despite appearing to be early in the die sequence for this Group, was re-used for another four coins in the subsequent Group Bc. The smaller and less well defined mullets which first appeared on dies *ak*, *an* and *aq* are found on all the other dies used for this group as well, again with evidence of damage to some punches.

Group Bc

This group is characterised by a series of poorly made dies on which the face is in such low relief that it often appears as no more than a silhouette, with the eye sometimes just visible. It may be from the same punch as used in Group Bb, since the same crown, hair and neck punches are also used. Four of these dies are known (15–18), with the first of these bearing a colon stop at the end of the legend, as on die 14.

- 15 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ :
- 16 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ
- 17 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ
- 18 +IOh Λ NNESDEIGR Λ

Fourteen coins from these obverse dies have been examined, and all but one are from reverse dies shared with previous groups. Dies *as*, *au* and *av* all appeared first in Group Bb, whilst *an*, which occurs on a single coin, was also used for Ba, Bb and Alexander III Class J. Dies *aw* and *ax* appear for the first time on Bc coins in combination with obverse die 18, which may be assumed to be the latest. Die *ax* is not used with any other obverse.

Group Bd

Just two obverse dies (19–20) have been recorded of this type, but with thirteen coins in the sample analysed. The dies feature a new crown, with a tall irregular central fleur. The face

appears to be from a new punch, but again it is lightly inserted and may be from either a new punch or a re-used old one. One legend ends with **GR** and the other with **GRΛ:**

- 19 +IOhΑNNESDEIGR
20 +IOhΑNNESDEIGRΛ:

Three reverse dies are used: *aw*, which first appeared in Group Bc, but appears to have been used more frequently in Bd if the evidence of this small sample can be believed; and *ay* and *az*, which occur for the first time and are found only in combination with Bd obverses. The mullets continue to be comparatively small and rounded, with some of the punches damaged.

Group Ca

A distinct break in the die chain occurs with the commencement of Group C. The larger section (Ca) embodies a rare case of more obverse than reverse dies. The six obverse dies all feature a rather better standard of workmanship than those of the previous group. The portrait is clear and has a notably protruding chin, and the distinctive crown has a ‘battle-axe’ central fleur. The legends end in **GR** (two dies), **GRΛ** (three) and **GRAC** (one). The first N on die 22 has a horizontal cross-bar, making it look like an H.

- 21 +IOhΑNNESDEIGRΛ
22 +IOhΑHNESDEIGRΛ
23 +IOhΑNNESDEIGRΛΔ
24 +IOhΑNNESDEIGR
25 +IOhΑNNESDEIGR
26 +IOhΑNNESDEIGRΛ

Four new reverse dies (*ba–bd*) were used in striking the twenty-three coins of Group Ca which have been studied. Dies *ba* and *bb* feature new, larger and very sharply pointed mullet punches, whereas those on *bc* and *bd* have slightly blunter points, although less rounded than those on dies of Group B. Curiously, one coin from each of obverse dies 25 and 26 features reverse die *am*, otherwise used only in Group Ba. The reason for the sudden late re-use of this error die is unclear, and obverse die 26 is not known from any other coin.

Group Cb

This little group, of which only five coins have been studied, features just two obverse dies (27–28), of which the latter is known from only one coin. Both have the same obverse legend, ending in **GR**, and bear a large portrait with a wide crown and a broad face.

- 27 +IOhΑNNESDEIGR
28 +I[0h]ΑNNES[D]EIGR

Reverse dies *ba* and *bb* were also used for this group, as were two further dies (*be* and *bf*) which are not otherwise known. Both *be* and *bf* feature the same sharply pointed mullets as on *ba* and *bb*, and it is therefore possible that Group Cb predated Ca, with *be* and *bf* being the earliest dies struck from new punches, along with *ba* and *bb*. Both of these could then have continued into Group Ca, for which dies *bc* and *bd* were made using slightly degraded mullet punches. Obverse 28 and reverse *bf* are each known only from the single recorded coin on which they are combined.

First issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

In contrast to the relative abundance of first issue pennies with REX SCOTORVM reverse, the corresponding halfpennies are extremely rare, with just five specimens being included in this study. Two obverse dies have been recorded (H1, H2):

H1 +10hΛΝΕΣΔΕΙΓΙ
H2 +10[]ΕΙΓΡΑ

Since H1 has reversed *Ns* in the legend, it seems likely to belong with the earlier part of the penny coinage, and the style and workmanship are comparable to Group A. The front fleur of the crown has a neat rectangular rearward projection, but the equivalent foil appears to be missing from the rear fleur. The early placement of these coins is supported by the fact that two of the four recorded as struck from this die have it paired with a reverse die of Alexander III. The other two have the reverse from a die (*Ha*) reading +RE / XSC / OTO / RVM, with a six-pointed mullet in each angle of the cross. Obverse H2 is known from just one coin, on which it is paired with a reverse die (*Hb*), also known only on this coin, which has six-pointed mullets in the second and fourth quarters only. Only the first two sections of the legend are legible, and these also read +RE / XSC. This coin has been placed here for want of further evidence, but it may be noted that the St Andrews mint halfpenny reverse die *SHa* also has six-pointed mullets in the second and fourth quarters only. This coin could therefore be seen as a possible early anonymous St Andrews mint issue, by analogy with the *Rex Scotorum* pennies with 22 point reverse (see below).

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* pennies

The pennies of the second issue are much less numerous than those of the first, with the total studied for the purposes of this paper being eighty-three. This issue has also been divided into groups on stylistic grounds, with the designation, commencing with Group Da, continuing that employed in the earlier issue (see Table 4). Once more it has been possible to put together a fairly convincing possible sequence of issues, but again this should not be regarded as necessarily correct in every detail. It is worth noting that all five groups are discrete in terms of die use, with no links between different groups revealed by this study. All obverses bear the legend **+IOHANNESDEIGRÆ** unless otherwise stated, the only common variant noted being the presence or absence of an abbreviation symbol in the form of a bar above the space between R and **Æ**. All reverses bear the legend **REX / SCO / TOR / VM+** unless otherwise stated.

TABLE 4. Die-links in second issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies

	----- mullets and stars -----												----- four mullets -----											
Rev die	bg	bh	bi	bj	bk	bl	bm	bn	bo	bp	bq	br	bs	bt	bu	bv	bw	bx	by	bz	ca	cb	cc	
Group	Obv die																							
Da	29	1																						
	30	6	5	3	2	2	1	1																
Db	31								1	13														
	32										1	4												
	33												4	5										
	34													3										
Ea	35													1										
	36														2									
Eb	37														1									
	38															4	2							
Ec	39																	1	2	1				
	40																	4			1	5	2	
	41																		3					

Group Da

The defining feature of this group is that the reverse has two five-pointed mullets and two five-pointed stars in alternate angles of the reverse cross, the stars resulting from overpunching on mullets. Twenty-two coins have been examined, but just two obverse dies are known (29–30), the first from a single coin only. Features of these dies include a crown with a foil missing, a face with a prominent chin and the eye in the form of a pellet within a thin oval. The hair has two thick strands, with a small inner curl and a thin horizontal strand at the top. The line of curls below is made up of strokes and pellets. The neck is lightly draped.

Seven reverse dies have been recorded (*bg–bm*), and they have been placed in that particular order on the basis of the number of coins recorded from each die, it not being unreasonable to suggest that the earliest dies might have seen the greatest use. Since the only coin from obverse 29 has reverse *bg*, it may be suggested that this obverse die belongs at the beginning of the series but soon fell out of use. Five of the dies have the mullets in the first and third quarters, but on dies *bj* and *bl* they are in the second and fourth. There does not appear to be any significance to this.

The remaining groups all comprise coins with four five-pointed mullets on the reverse, and there is no evidence of linking between Da and any subsequent group.

Group Db

This appears to be the largest group within the second coinage, thirty-one coins having been examined for this study, struck from four obverse dies (31–34) and five reverse dies (*bn–br*). The obverse bust is very similar to that of the previous group. Most of the punches appear to be the same, and although the crown looks more slender, this may be due solely to recutting of the punch or lighter striking into the dies. The combination of obverse 31 and reverse *bo* occurs on thirteen of the coins examined.

Group Ea

Just three coins of this type have been examined, from two separate pairs of dies (35/*bs* and 36/*bt*). The bust includes a new, taller crown, which characterises all Group E coins, and a new face with pellet eyes. The bushy hair is of similar style to previous groups. The neck is short and narrow, with a slight curve at the back and a space between the truncation and inner circle.

Group Eb

Another small group, with seven coins examined; this includes obverse die 37, paired on a single coin with reverse die *bu*, and obverse 38, paired on six coins with reverses *bv* and *bw*. The crown is similar to that of Group Ea, but the face has the nose and forehead in a straight line and the hair is more compact.

Group Ec

This appears to be the latest group, with what seem likely to be privy marks appearing for the first time on a small number of dies. Twenty-one coins were examined, with three obverse dies (39–41) and six reverse dies (*bx–cc*) being represented. The obverse dies are characterised by a wider face and neck with bushier hair, but frequently with little detail being visible. The crown is similar to that of Groups Ea and Eb. Die 40 has a trefoil of pellets in the legend between I and O, and on die 41 a similar mark appears between A and N. Reverse die *cb* has R A + in the last quarter of the legend, and cc has a trefoil of pellets after S C O. This reverse die appears in combination only with the two obverse dies on which the trefoil also appears, whereas these two obverses are also combined with reverse dies without the trefoil.

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

In comparison with those of the first issue, second issue halfpennies are comparatively numerous, with twenty-five specimens being available for this study. Six obverse dies (H3–H8) were encountered, along with eleven reverse dies (*Hc*–*Hm*) (see Table 5). All the obverse dies read **+IOhANNESDEIGRꝝ**, and the order in which they have been arranged is based solely on placing die H3, from which the largest number of coins in the survey (eight) were struck, at the beginning of the series and creating a chain of die links from there. Reverse dies *Hc* to *Hj* all read **REX / SCO / TOR / VM+**, but *Hk* and *Hl* have **VR+** in the fourth quarter, and *Hm* has **VII+**. All the dies have six-pointed mullets in alternate angles of the cross, these being in the first and third quarters on dies *Hc*–*Hf*, *Hk* and *Hl*, and in the second and fourth quarters on *Hg*–*Hi* and *Hm*. There seems to be no significance to the placing of the mullets. The sequence suggested in Table 5 looks fairly convincing, except possibly for the re-use of reverse die *He* with obverse H6, but again it should not be taken as definite evidence of an order of striking.

TABLE 5. Die-links in second issue *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

<i>Rev die</i>	<i>Hc</i>	<i>Hd</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>Hf</i>	<i>Hg</i>	<i>Hh</i>	<i>Hi</i>	<i>Hj</i>	<i>Hk</i>	<i>Hl</i>	<i>Hm</i>
<i>Obv die</i>											
H3	4	4									
H4		1	2	1	1	1					
H5						3	1	1	1		
H6			1								1
H7										2	
H8											1

There is a suggestion that extra marks may have been added to reverse die *Hh*. One coin in the National Museum of Scotland collection, from an uncertain obverse die, seems to have a large pellet beside the mullet in the fourth quarter, and an oval mark beside the mullet in the second quarter. The pellet is also apparently present on a second coin, in the Stewartby collection, but on this coin the second quarter is unclear. These marks may result from damage to the die rather than from deliberate alteration, but their presence should be noted in case the discovery of a coin in better condition can shed more light on this.

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* farthing

A single example of a farthing of this coinage is known to exist, found in Suffolk in 1997 and now in the Stewartby collection. The obverse reads **+IOhANNESDEIGRꝝ**, and the reverse **[]/[]O / TOR / VM+**, and there is a five-pointed mullet in each angle of the cross. Clearly there is little more that can be said about this issue at present, except to express the hope that other examples may come to light to aid further study.

St Andrews mint pennies: first and second issues

As stated above, the products of the St Andrews mint are here treated as a single series. Although the same clear stylistic differences between the first and second issues exist here as on the *Rex Scotorum* coins, there is no evidence of a break in production. There are numerous mules with obverses of the first issue combined with reverse dies of the second, and a continuous sequence of die links can be constructed for the entire coinage (see Table 6). Fifteen obverse dies have been recorded, of which twelve belong to the first issue. All of these twelve bear the legend **+IOhANNESDEIGRꝝ** unless otherwise stated below. Of the three second-issue dies, the earliest has the experimental reading **+ : I : DI : GRꝝ : SCOTORVM : RX**, but the other two show a reversion to the normal reading, albeit with colon stops between the words – **+IOhANNES : DEI : GRꝝ**. Of the seventeen reverse dies, thirteen belong to the first issue and four to the second. Again it must be emphasised that the sequence illustrated in Table 6 should not be taken as evidence of any definite order of striking, but it has been

constructed on the basis of two aspects of the coinage which may arguably be accepted as likely to constitute reliable evidence. At the head of the sequence have been placed the coins without mint name but with two five-pointed and two six-pointed mullets (22 points) on the reverse, as on all the named St Andrews issues. One of the obverses used for these coins is also paired with a reverse die (*ay*) which belongs to the normal first issue *Rex Scotorum* coinage, suggesting that this was used pending the production of first the 'anonymous' St Andrews reverse dies and then those with mint name. The obverse dies which are combined with second issue reverses have naturally been placed at the end of the first issue, and the sequence of die links illustrated in Table 6 forms a chain between these two fixed points. Observation of the details of the various punches used seems to allow the possibility that this sequence is broadly correct.

TABLE 6. Die-links in first and second issue St Andrews pennies

		<i>Rev die</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Sb</i>	<i>Sc</i>	<i>Sd</i>	<i>Se</i>	<i>Sf</i>	<i>Sg</i>	<i>Sh</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Sj</i>	<i>Sk</i>	<i>Sl</i>	<i>Sm</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>So</i>	<i>Sp</i>	<i>Sq</i>
	<i>Group</i>	<i>Obv die</i>	<i>First issue</i>													<i>Second issue</i>				
<i>First issue</i>	<i>SAa</i>	S1	1	2																
	<i>SAb</i>	S2		1																
	<i>SBa</i>	S3			3															
		S4		1	2	1														
	<i>SBb</i>	S5			1		3													
	<i>SBc</i>	S6			1		2													
		S7						1												
	<i>SC</i>	S8					1		2		2									
		S9								4										
		S10									3	4	1	2						
		S11														7				
		S12														3	4	7	5	
<i>Second issue</i>	<i>SDa</i>	S13																7		
	<i>SDb</i>	S14																2	2	
		S15																1	3	

Group SAa

This group includes just a single obverse die (S1), the punches used for which are the same as those for Group Bd, now apparently in a worn condition. It is paired with two reverse dies, one of which is *ay*, also used for coins of Group Bd. This would appear to constitute some evidence for the relative chronology of the commencement of the St Andrews coinage. The other reverse die (*Sa*) is one of the two known with 22 points and *Rex Scotorum* legend. The legend reads ~~RE~~ / XSC / OTO / RVH, and the six-point mullets are in the first and third quarters. There are flaws beside the mullets in the second and fourth quarters.

Group SAb

Within the confines of this study this group comprises just a single coin, the reverse of which is from die *Sa*, also used for Group SAa coins. The obverse die (S2) has stylistic affinities with some of those in the 24-point series, but no firm association has been noted. The crown is neat, with shapely petals to the fleurs. The face, on which the nose is breaking away, may be from the same punch as S1, but the hair is from a new punch and the neck is unclear.

Group SBa

The seven coins in this group are struck from two obverse dies (S3, S4), which feature new face and hair punches which seem to be used for all subsequent dies of the St Andrews first issue coinage. The face may be described as more compact and chubbier than that appearing

previously. The crown is also compact, with a plain band without ornaments. Obverse S3 has been found only in combination with reverse *Sb*, which is the second of the 22-point *Rex Scotorum* dies. The legend reads as that of *Sa*, but the last letter appears to have a broken crossbar, and the six-point mullets are now in the second and fourth quarters. Obverse S4 is paired with both *Sa* and *Sb*, as well as with the first of the dies bearing the St Andrews name, here designated *Sc*. The legend reads CIV / ITΛ / SSΛ / NDR, and the six-point mullets are in the first and third quarters. This die has not so far been found in combination with any other obverse die.

Group SBb

The four coins in this group were struck from a single obverse die (S5), featuring a tall, slender crown and probably a new neck punch. This is used in combination with reverse die *Sb*, as well as with a new St Andrews die, *Sd*, which reads CIVI / TΛS / SΛN / DRΕ and has the six-point mullets in the first and third quarters.

Group SBc

The two obverse dies belonging to this group (S6, S7) are similar to S5 and may feature the same crown, rather more strongly impressed, as well as face and hair punches. The neck punch is not very clear but is not the same as that used for S5. Obverse S6 is found combined with the same two reverses as S5 (*Sb* and *Sd*), but S7 has so far been identified only on a single coin where it is paired with a new St Andrews die (*Se*). This has the same legend and mullet positions as *Sd*.

Group SC

This is a comparatively large group, from which thirty-three coins have been examined, struck from five obverse dies (S8–S12). These all feature the same crown, which may be a worn version of that used in the previous group and which appears to have become more damaged with continued use. The same face and hair punches continued in use, with the hair punch possibly having been recut prior to the manufacture of die S12. The legends on dies S10–S12 end with GR, and S11 has reversed Ιs.

The only die link between Group SC and previous groups is provided by a single coin on which obverse S8 is paired with reverse *Sd*. A further eight reverse dies (*Sf*–*Sm*) appear for the first time in this group. Dies *Sf*, *Sh*, *Si* and *Sj* all read CIVI / TΛS / SΛN / DRΕ and have the six-point mullets in the second and fourth quarters. Die *Sm* is similar, but the N is unbarred (II), whereas *Sg* reads CIV / ITΛ / SSΛ / NDR. Die *Sl* has the six-point mullets in the first and third quarters and reads as *Sf* etc. but with reversed Ι. It is notable that obverse S11 and reverse *Sl*, both with reversed Ι, are paired on seven of the coins examined in this study, suggesting short-lived errors by one particular die-sinker. Reverse die *Sk* is unique in having six-point mullets in three of the quarters, with a five-point mullet in the second only. The reading is as *Sf* etc.

First/second issue mules

Twelve of the coins which have been studied – a fairly surprising fifteen per cent of the total for the St Andrews mint – are mules between the two issues, all being struck from obverse die S12 in combination with two reverse dies (*Sn* and *So*), details of which are given below. The fact that these coins are so numerous would certainly seem to suggest that minting at St Andrews must have continued more or less without interruption. The new die-sinkers who were presumably responsible for the second issue appear to have concentrated initially on the production of new reverse dies, which were immediately put into use in combination with an older obverse die until it in turn could be replaced. This obverse must certainly have been

subject to fairly prolonged use, to judge by the number of coins (nineteen) on which it occurs in the sample studied.

A study of the second issue pennies of St Andrews, including the mules discussed above, was published by the late W.B. Ferguson in 2000.⁷ Our study of this coinage has confirmed the accuracy and comprehensiveness of Ferguson's work, with just two coins unknown to him having been added to the corpus in the intervening period. Cross-references to Ferguson's die terminology are included below.

Group SDa

This group contains seven coins struck from a single abnormal obverse die (S13 = Ferguson A) in combination with a single reverse die (*Sn* = Ferguson A). The obverse die reads **+I:DI:GRĀ:SCOTORVM:RX**, and the bust includes a tall crown, long face and wire-line hair of three strands. The reverse reads **CIVI / TĀS / SĀN / DRĒE**, and has six-pointed stars in the first and third quarters and five-pointed mullets in the second and fourth.

Group SDb

This comprises eight coins struck from two obverse dies (S14, S15) and three reverse dies (*So*–*Sq*). Both obverse dies read **+IOHĀNNES:DEI:GRĀ**. The bust is similar in style to that on die S13, but from different punches. The three reverse dies all read as die *Sn*, except for the fact that *So* has H instead of N. Dies *So* and *Sq* have the six-pointed stars in the first and third quarters, whereas *Sp* has the five-pointed mullets in these positions. Obverse S14 (= Ferguson B) is found paired with reverses *So* and *Sp* (= Ferguson B and C respectively), with S15 (= Ferguson C) paired with *Sp* and *Sq* (= Ferguson D).

St Andrews mint halfpennies: first and second issues

Halfpennies of this mint appear to be very rare, with just eight specimens in all having been located for study. Of these, six belong to the first issue, with two obverse and two reverse dies being represented. Obverse SH1, reading **+IOHĀNNES:DEI:GRĀ**, is found paired on four coins with reverse die *SHa*. This reads **CIV / ITĀ / SĀN / DRĒ**, and has six-pointed mullets in the second and fourth angles of the cross, the others being blank. The same reverse is paired on one coin with obverse die SH2, which appears to have the legend in the same form as SH1, but the SD is not legible. A further coin sees obverse SH1 combined with another reverse die (*SHb*), otherwise unrecorded, which reads **CIVI / TĀS / SĀN / DRĒ** and has five-pointed stars or mullets in the third and presumably also first angles of the cross. Unfortunately this coin is known only from images posted on a dealer's website in 2007 and kindly forwarded by Ronald Kirton. It is clearly an important coin, but its present location is unknown.

Just two St Andrews halfpennies of the second issue are known, both from the same die combination. Obverse SH3, reading **+IOHĀNNES:[]:GRĀ**, is combined with reverse *SHc*, which reads **CIVI / TĀS / SĀN / DRĒE** and has six-pointed stars in the first and third angles of the cross. Both readings are slightly uncertain, with the first stop on the obverse being only partially visible and the last letter on the reverse possibly being a stop instead.

CORPUS OF COINS

In the Corpus the numbers, from 1 to 349, refer to individual specimens, and the coins are listed in order of group and die combination. Main groups (for pennies only) are denoted by capital letters in italics, thus *Group A*, *Group B*, etc. for the *Rex Scotorum* coins, *Group SA*, *Group SB*, etc. for St Andrews coins. Sub-groups are distinguished by added small italic letters, thus *Group Aa* (*Rex Scotorum*) or *Group SAa* (St Andrews). Otherwise the use of italics is confined to reverses. Individual obverse dies are denoted by plain numbers (1, 2, etc) for *Rex Scotorum* pence, and by S numbers for St Andrews (S1, S2, etc.). Similarly, obverse dies for halfpence are given plain numbers

⁷ Ferguson 2000.

prefixed by H, thus H1, H2, etc. for *Rex Scotorum*, and SH, e.g. SH1, SH2, etc. for St Andrews. *Rex Scotorum* reverse penny dies are given two-letter labels, from *aa*, *ab*, etc. to *be*, *bf* for the first issue, and *bg* to *cb*, *cc* for the second. For halfpenny *Rex Scotorum* dies the sequence is from *Ha* to *Hm*. St Andrews reverse dies for pence run from *Sa* to *Sq*, and for halfpence from *SHa* to *SHc*.

The following abbreviations have been used to designate the location of each coin or, where this is not known, the source of the images which have been studied: AM = Ashmolean Museum; BM = British Museum; FM = Fitzwilliam Museum; HM = Hunterian Museum; NMS = National Museum of Scotland; RK = Ronald Kirton research archive; S = Stewartby collection. Museum registration numbers are included where these are known, as are details of original source and/or previous ownership and previous publication. Burns = Burns 1887; Richardson = Richardson 1901; SCBI 35 = Bateson and Mayhew 1987. Where the source of a coin is a named collector and/or auction, details are available in Manville and Robertson 1986.

Weights of individual coins have not been given. The standards of weight (and fineness) of the Baliol coinage were unchanged from those which pertained under Alexander III. This can be verified from the catalogues of numerous published hoards containing pennies of both monarchs (e.g Renfrew 1963,⁸ Loch Doon, Ayrshire, 1966⁹ or Ednam, Roxburghshire, 1995¹⁰).

First issue, *Rex Scotorum* pennies

Group A

No.	Dies	
1	1/Alex III E	NMS, H.C1489; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Burns 2a, fig. 211A; Richardson 4, fig. 23
2		S; ex F. Baldwin
3		AM; SCBI 35, no. 298
4	2/Alex III E	S
5	2/aa	NMS, H.C16725; Burns 2, fig. 211
6		S
7	2/ab	NMS, H.C1487; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 3
8		HM; ex Dr William Hunter collection; SCBI 35, no. 304
9	2/ac	NMS, H.C4199; ex Mellendean hoard, 1911
10		S; ex Davidson
11	2/ad	BM, 1989.12.1.5; ex Amble hoard
12	3/ae	BM, 1911.2.1; ex Mellendean hoard, 1911
13		BM, 1989.12.1.6; ex Amble hoard

Group Ba

14	4/Alex III E	S; ex P. Thorburn; ex Cochran-Patrick, lot 174; Stewart 1971, p. 280 and Pl. XVII, no. 23b
15	4/af	NMS, H.C16729; Burns 6, not illus.
16		NMS, H.C1499; ex Craiggillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
17		number not used
18		S
19		BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 152
20		FM
21	4?/af	RK
22	4/ah	NMS, H.C1494
23		S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1412
24		RK
25		RK
26	4/ai	S; ex W. Elliott
27	4/aj	S
28	4/ak	S; ex Parsons 710
29	4/al	S; ex Parsons 710
30	4/am	NMS, H.C1495; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48, no. 1841 and Pl. I, no. 24
31	5/ag	NMS, H.C1483; Richardson 1
32		S; ex Dakers 330 (Daniels 1928)
33		S; ex Wills 172
34		S
35		BM, 1976.1.3.80; ex Middridge hoard
36		RK

⁸ Woodhead and Stewart 1966.

⁹ Woodhead, Stewart and Tatler 1969.

¹⁰ Holmes 1996.

37	5/ag?	S
38	5/ai	NMS, H.C9802
39		S
40	5/ak	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1419
41	5/am	HM; found near Cambuskenneth Abbey; SCBI 35, no. 303
42	6/ah	NMS, H.C16726; Burns 3, fig. 212
43		S; ex J.K.R. Murray 117; ex Oman 391
44	6/aj	S; ex Davidson
45		RK
46	6/al	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1418
47	6/ao	S; ex W. Elliott
48	7/ak	S; ex F. Baldwin
49		FM
50	8/an	NMS, H.C1493; Richardson 7
51	9/ap	NMS, H.C4140
52		BM, 1906.11.3.4481
53	10/an	NMS, H.C16728; Burns 5, not illus.
54		NMS, H.C4200; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al</i> 1969, 49, no. 1845 and Pl. I, no. 28
55		S; ex Drabble 1184
56	10/aq	AM; ex Browne Willis; SCBI 35, no. 301
<i>Alexander III class J (one obverse die)</i>		
57	rev. aj	S
58		Bowers and Ruddy sale, 19 February 1976 ('Dundee collection'), lot 20; present whereabouts unknown
59	rev. an	NMS, H.C1367; Richardson Add. 106
60		NMS, H.C1368; ex Kinghornie hoard, 1893
61		RK; metal-detector find, Suffolk, 2008
62	rev. aq	S; ex F. Baldwin
63		S
64	rev. ar	NMS, H.C16714; Burns 79, fig. 209
65		S
<i>Group Bb</i>		
66	11/an	S
67	11/aq	S
68	11/ar	S; ex W.C. Boyd 1197 (Baldwin sale 26 September 2005); bt. W.S. Lincoln 1899
69	11/as	NMS, H.C16724; Burns 1b, fig. 210B
70		NMS, H.C1485; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 2
71		NMS, K.1997.322; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1410
72		S
73	12/at	BM, 1926.1.13.119; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
74	13/at	NMS, K.1997.324; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1422
75		S; ex Dakers 330 (Sotheby sale 1935, lot 124)
76		S; ex Davidson
77		AM; ex Hird; SCBI 35, no. 300
78		BM, 1915.5.7.2084; ex Tutbury hoard, 1831
79		BM, E2425
80		RK
81	13/au	NMS, H.C16723; Burns 1a, fig. 210A
82		S; ex Davidson
83		BM, 1926.1.13.117; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
84	14/at	NMS, H.C16722; Burns 1, fig. 210
85		NMS, A.1925.432
86		S; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1421
87		RK
88	14/au	S; ex Davidson
89	14/av	S; ex J.K.R. Murray 117; ex Oman 391
90		RK
<i>Group Bc</i>		
91	15/as	S; ex F. Baldwin
92	16/as	S; ex Davidson
93		BM, 1926.1.13.116; ex Newminster hoard, 1925

94	16/av	NMS, H.C1497; Richardson 8
95	17/an	S; ex Winstanley
96	17/as	S
97	17/au	NMS, H.C1501; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 49, no. 1844 and Pl. I, no. 27
98		S
99	17/av	NMS, H.C1498; ? ex Montrave hoard, 1877
100		S; ex Dakers; from Clark 1926
101	18/aw	S
102	18/ax	NMS, H.C1484
103		NMS, H.C1500; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48, no. 1843 and Pl. I, no. 26
104		RK
<i>Group Bd</i>		
105	19/aw	S; ex Dakers 330 (Sotheby December 1929)
106		S
107		AM; ex Hird; SCBI 35, no. 299
108		RK
109	19/ay	NMS, H.C1491; Richardson 6
110		NMS, H.C1492; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
111		S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1416
112		RK
113	20/ay	NMS, H.C1496; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48, no. 1842 and Pl. I, no. 25
114		S; ex Dakers 330
115		BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 151
116		RK
117	20/az	S; ex Alex Hannah sale, CNG/Seaby 11 June 1994, lot 557
<i>Group Ca</i>		
118	21/ba	S
119		BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 150
120	21/bb	NMS, H.C1488
121		NMS, H.C4138
122		S
123		S
124		AM; ex Stewart; SCBI 35, no. 302
125		BM, 1926.1.13.118; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
126		RK
127		RK
128	22/bb	BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 149
129	23/bc	NMS, H.C1486; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
130		S
131	24/bc	NMS, H.C1490; Richardson 5
132		S
133		RK
134	24/bd	NMS, H.C16727; Burns 4, not illus.
135		NMS, K.1997.323; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1411
136		S; ex J.J. North
137	25/am	S; ex W. Elliott; ex Lockett; ex Murdoch
138	25/bc	S; ex W. Elliott
139		RK
140		RK
141	25/bd	S; ex Weber de Vore
142	26/am	NMS, H.C16730; Burns 7, not illus.
<i>Group Cb</i>		
143	27/ba	S; ex Drabble 1184
144	27/bb	S
145	27/be	NMS, H.C16731; Burns 8, fig. 213
146		NMS, H.C4139
147		S
148	28/bf	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1415

First issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

149	H1/Alex III	S; ex Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1312; ex Lockett 117
150		BM, Grueber 521
151	H1/Ha	NMS, H.C1512; Burns 12a, fig. 212A
152		NMS, H.C4201; Richardson 13
153	H2/Hb	S; ex F. Baldwin

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* pennies*Group Da*

154	29/bg	NMS, H.C10027
155	30/bg	NMS, H.C1522; Richardson 18
156		NMS, H.C10014; found at Urquhart Castle
157		S; ex Parsons 710
158		S; ex Roth 339
159		FM
160		RK
161	30/bh	S; ex Davidson
162		S
163		AM; Christ Church collection loan; SCBI 35, 306
164		BM, 1959.12.11.52; from Whittonstall hoard
165		RK
166	30/bi	NMS, H.C16743; Burns 18, fig. 221
167		S
168		RK
169	30/bj	S
170		RK
171	30/bk	NMS, H.C1523
172		S; ex W. Elliott; ex Lockett; ex Murdoch
173	30/bl	NMS, H.C1524; Richardson 19
174	30/bm	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1426

Group Db

175	31/bn	S; ex Davidson
176	31/bo	NMS, H.C16740; Burns 16, fig. 219
177		NMS, H.C16741; Burns 16 (not illus.)
178		NMS, H.C4144; ex Aberdour hoard, 1978; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1988, 81, no. 241
179		S
180		S
181		AM; ex Hird; SCBI 35, no. 307
182		AM; ex Bodleian Library; SCBI 35, no. 308
183		BM, E2423
184		BM, 1989.12.1.7; ex Amble hoard
185		FM
186		HM; SCBI 35, no. 309; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1966, 49, no. 1847, and Pl. I, no. 30
187		RK
188		RK
189	32/b0	S; ex F. Baldwin
190	32/bp	NMS, H.C1521; ex Montrave hoard, 1877
191		S; ex Midridge hoard 1977, 828
192		RK
193		RK
194	33/bq	NMS, H.C1520; Richardson 17
195		S; ex Dakers 330
196		BM; Grueber 519; ex Tutbury hoard 1831, 88
197		RK
198	33/br	NMS, H.C16742; Burns 17, fig. 220
199		S
200		FM
201		RK
202		RK
203	34/br	S

204		AM; ex Parkes Weber; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 314
205		BM, 1915.5.7.2088; ex Tutbury hoard 1831, 172
<i>Group Ea</i>		
206	35/b <i>s</i>	S; ex Braemore hoard, before 1900; Stewart 1973, 139, no. 6
207	36/b <i>t</i>	S; ex Drabble 1184, Bearman, Murdoch 39
208		RK
<i>Group Eb</i>		
209	37/b <i>u</i>	S; ex Weber de Vore, Grantley
210	38/b <i>v</i>	S; ex E.J. Harris
211		S; ex Drabble 1184
212		RK
213		RK
214	38/b <i>w</i>	S; ex Dakers 330
215		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 313

<i>Group Ec</i>		
216	39/b <i>x</i>	S; ex J.K.R. Murray 122, Oman 392
217	39/b <i>y</i>	NMS, H.C1518
218		S; ex W. Elliott, P. Thorburn
219	39/b <i>z</i>	FM
220	40/b <i>x</i>	S
221		HM; ex Dr William Hunter; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 310
222		BM, E2424
223		RK
224	40/c <i>a</i>	S; ex Drabble 1184
225	40/c <i>b</i>	NMS, K.1998.403
226		S; ex Drabble 1184
227		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 311
228		AM; ex Browne Willis; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 312
229		RK
230	40/c <i>c</i>	NMS, H.C1517; Richardson 16
231		FM
232	41/b <i>y</i>	NMS, H.C1519; ex Renfrew hoard, 1963; Woodhead and Stewart 1966, 146, no. 657 and Pl. XIII, no. 24
233		S; ex Davidson
234		RK
235	41/c <i>c</i>	S
236		S

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

237	H3/H <i>c</i>	S; ex W.W. Woodside
238		AM; ex Dakers 331; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 315
239		HM; ex Dr William Hunter; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 316
240		FM
241	H3/H <i>d</i>	NMS, H.C16744; Burns 1, fig. 222
242		NMS, A.1925.434
243		S
244		S
245	H4/H <i>d</i>	S; ex F. Baldwin
246	H4/H <i>e</i>	NMS, H.C16745; Burns 1, fig. 223
247		BM, E2429
248	H4/H <i>f</i>	NMS, H.C1525; Richardson 20
249	H4/H <i>g</i>	S; ex Wills 172
250	H4/H <i>h</i>	S; ex Drabble 1185, Bearman, Holton 218
251	H5/H <i>h</i>	NMS, H.C16746; Burns 2, fig. 224
252		NMS, H.C1527; Richardson 21
253		AM; ex Browne Willis; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 317
254	H5/H <i>i</i>	S; ex Dakers 331
255	H5/H <i>j</i>	Dix Noonan Webb sale 62 (30 June 2004), lot 631
256	H5/H <i>k</i>	BM, E2427
257	?/H <i>h</i>	NMS, K.2002.77; ex D.J.deS. Rogers; apparently with added pellets on reverse
258	H6/H <i>e</i>	BM, E2428

259	H6/H <i>l</i>	S; ex F. Baldwin
260	H7/H <i>l</i>	NMS, H.C1526; ex Renfrew hoard, 1963; Woodhead and Stewart 1966, 146, no. 658 and Pl. XIII, no. 32
261		S; ex Marshall 169, Grantley 1709, Cochran-Patrick 174
262	H8/H <i>m</i>	S

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* farthing

263		S; found 1997, Suffolk
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First issue: St Andrews pennies*Group SAa*

264	S1/ay	Mule with 24-point reverse; NMS, H.C1502
265	S1/ <i>Sa</i>	S
266		AM; ex Stewart; SCBI 35, no. 297

Group SAb

267	S2/S <i>a</i>	S
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Group SBa

268	S3/S <i>b</i>	S
269		BM, 1956.10.1.1
270		RK
271	S4/ <i>Sa</i>	S; ex Parsons
272	S4/S <i>b</i>	S
273		RK
274	S4/ <i>Sc</i>	S; ex F. Baldwin

Group SBb

275	S5/S <i>b</i>	S
276	S5/S <i>d</i>	NMS, H.C1505; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
277		NMS, H.C4141; ex J.K.R. Murray 118
278		S

Group SBc

279	S6/S <i>b</i>	S; ex F. Baldwin
280	S6/S <i>d</i>	S
281		RK
282	S7/S <i>e</i>	BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 153

Group SC

283	S8/S <i>d</i>	S; ex W. Elliott
284	S8/S <i>f</i>	NMS, H.C16733; Burns 10, fig. 214
285		S; ex Lockett 115, Bearman, Murdoch 1020
286	S8/S <i>h</i>	S; ex Davidson
287	S9/S <i>g</i>	NMS, H.C16732; Burns 9 (not illus.)
288		NMS, H.C1504; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 9
289		NMS, K.1997.325; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1424
290		S; ex Wills 172
291	S10/S <i>h</i>	NMS, H.C16734; Burns 11 (not illus.)
292		NMS, H.C1508; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 12
293		NMS, H.C 1509; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1965; Woodhead <i>et al</i> 1966, 49, no. 1846, and Pl. I, no. 29
294	S10/S <i>i</i>	NMS, H.C1506; ? ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 10
295		S
296		BM, E2426
297		FM
298	S10/S <i>j</i>	S; ex Lockett 115
299	S10/S <i>k</i>	NMS, H.C16735; Burns 12, fig. 215
300		S
301	S11/S <i>l</i>	NMS, H.C1510; Richardson 11
302		NMS, H.C1511

303		NMS, H.C4143; ex J.K.R. Murray 118, Oman
304		S
305		AM; ex Stewart; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 296
306		BM, 1959.12.11.50; ex Whittonstall hoard
307		BM, 1959.12.11.51; ex Whittonstall hoard
308	S12/ <i>Sl</i>	NMS, H.C1507; ex Montrave hoard, 1877
309		NMS, A.1925.433
310		S
311	S12/ <i>Sm</i>	NMS, H.C4142; ex J.K.R. Murray 118
312		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 294
313		BM, 1915.5.7.2089; ex Tutbury hoard, 1831, 73
314		RK; metal-detector find from Warwickshire

First/second issue mule pennies: St Andrews mint

315	S12/ <i>Sn</i>	NMS, H.C1515; Richardson 15
316		NMS, H.C1516; ex Montrave hoard, 1877
317		S; ex Braemore hoard, before 1900; Stewart 1973, 139, no. 5
318		AM; ex Stewart; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 295
319		BM, 1903.6.7.3; ex Murdoch 42
320		BM, 1926.1.13.120; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
321		P. Finn list 7 (1996), no. 398
322	S12/ <i>So</i>	NMS, H.C16739; Burns 15, fig. 218
323		NMS, K.1997.326; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1425
324		S; ex P. Thorburn
325		P. Finn list, Summer 1994, no. 361
326		Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1311

Second issue: St Andrews pennies*Group SDa*

327	S13/ <i>Sn</i>	NMS, H.C16738; Burns 14, fig. 217
328		S; ex F. Baldwin, R. Carlyon-Britton
329		<i>NCirc</i> July 1993, no. 4358
330		P. Finn list 9 (1997), no. 361
331		P. Finn list 14 (1998), no. 360
332		Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1314
333		RK

Group SDb

334	S14/ <i>So</i>	NMS, H.C16736; Burns 13, fig. 216
335		J.K.R. Murray sale (Spink, April 1987), lot 119
336	S14/ <i>Sp</i>	NMS, H.C1514; Richardson 14, fig. 25
337		S; ex Parsons 710
338	S15/ <i>Sp</i>	NMS, H.C16737; Burns p. 226 and note
339	S15/ <i>Sq</i>	S; ex W. Wylie
340		AM; ex Shand; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 305
341		BM, Gruuber 520

St Andrews halfpennies*First issue*

342	SH1/ <i>SHa</i>	NMS, H.C1513; ex P. Thorburn, R. Carlyon-Britton
343		S
344		Dix Noonan Webb sale 59 (7 October 2003), lot 982
345		Dix Noonan Webb sale 79 (24 September 2008), lot 4062
346	SH1/ <i>SHb</i>	RK; advertised for sale by Lloyd Bennett, www.coinsofbritain.com , October 2007
347	SH2/ <i>SHa</i>	NMS, K.2004.225; metal-detector find from Lincolnshire

Second issue

348	SH3/SHc	NMS, H.C9680
349		S; ex Blunt, Shirley Fox

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KEY TO PLATES

All illustrated coins are in either the National Museum of Scotland collection or the Stewartby collection unless otherwise acknowledged.

PLATE 9: <i>Rex Scotorum</i> pennies, first issue, obverse dies	27	144
	28	148

Obverse die Coin no. in Corpus

1	2
2	5
3	13
4	15
5	31
6	42
7	48
8	50
9	51
10	55
Alex III J	64
11	72
12	73 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
13	81
14	85
15	91
16	94
17	98
18	102
19	105
20	114
21	123
22	128 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
23	129
24	135
25	141
26	142

*PLATE 10: *Rex Scotorum* pennies, first issue, reverse dies*

<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
<i>Alex III E (i)</i>	2
<i>aa</i>	6
<i>ab</i>	7
<i>ac</i>	9
<i>ad</i>	11 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
<i>ae</i>	12 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
<i>Alex III E (ii)</i>	14
<i>af</i>	15
<i>ag</i>	34
<i>ah</i>	42
<i>ai</i>	38
<i>aj</i>	44
<i>ak</i>	28
<i>al</i>	29
<i>am</i>	142
<i>an</i>	55
<i>ao</i>	47
<i>ap</i>	51
<i>aq</i>	67
<i>ar</i>	64
<i>as</i>	71
<i>at</i>	76
<i>au</i>	82
<i>av</i>	94

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>aw</i>	101
<i>ax</i>	102
<i>ay</i>	119
<i>az</i>	117
<i>ba</i>	118
<i>bb</i>	123
<i>bc</i>	138
<i>bd</i>	25
<i>be</i>	147
<i>bf</i>	148

PLATE 11: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies, first issue*Obverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>H1</i>	151
<i>H2</i>	153

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Alex III</i>	149
<i>Ha</i>	151
<i>Hb</i>	153

PLATE 12: *Rex Scotorum* pennies, second issue*Obverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

29	154
30	171
31	176
32	190
33	198
34	205 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

35	206
36	207
37	209
38	211
39	217
40	225
41	235

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>bg</i>	155
<i>bh</i>	161
<i>bi</i>	166
<i>bj</i>	169
<i>bk</i>	171

<i>bl</i>	173
<i>bm</i>	174
<i>bn</i>	175
<i>bo</i>	176
<i>bp</i>	190

<i>bq</i>	194
<i>br</i>	198
<i>bs</i>	206
<i>bt</i>	207
<i>bu</i>	209

<i>bv</i>	211
<i>bw</i>	214
<i>bx</i>	216
<i>by</i>	217
<i>bz</i>	219 (by courtesy of the trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum)

<i>ca</i>	224
<i>cb</i>	225
<i>cc</i>	230

PLATE 13: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies, second issue*Obverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>H3</i>	237
<i>H4</i>	249
<i>H5</i>	254
<i>H6</i>	259
<i>H7</i>	261
<i>H8</i>	262

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Hc</i>	237
<i>Hd</i>	241
<i>He</i>	246
<i>Hf</i>	248

PLATE 14: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies, second issue*Reverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Hg</i>	249
<i>Hh</i>	252
<i>Hi</i>	254
<i>Hj</i>	255 (by courtesy of Dix Noonan Webb)
<i>Hk</i>	256 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

<i>Hl</i>	261
<i>Hm</i>	262

Rex Scotorum farthing, second issue*Coin no. in Corpus*

–	263
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PLATE 15: St Andrews pennies, first and second issues

Obverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>S1</i>	264
<i>S2</i>	267
<i>S3</i>	268
<i>S4</i>	274
<i>S5</i>	276
<i>S6</i>	280
<i>S7</i>	282 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

<i>S8</i>	285
<i>S9</i>	289
<i>S10</i>	293
<i>S11</i>	304
<i>S12</i>	311
<i>S13</i>	328
<i>S14</i>	337
<i>S15</i>	338

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Sa</i>	265
<i>Sb</i>	268
<i>Sc</i>	274
<i>Sd</i>	276
<i>Se</i>	282 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

<i>Sf</i>	285
<i>Sg</i>	289
<i>Sh</i>	286
<i>Si</i>	294
<i>Sj</i>	298

<i>Sk</i>	300
<i>Sl</i>	310
<i>Sm</i>	311

<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
<i>Sn</i>	317	<i>SHa</i>	342
<i>So</i>	322	<i>SHb</i>	346 (from www.coinsofbritain.com (Lloyd Bennett))
<i>Sp</i>	336		
<i>Sq</i>	341 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)		
PLATE 16: St Andrews halfpennies, first issue			
<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>		
<i>SH1</i>	342		
<i>SH2</i>	347		
			St Andrews halfpennies, second issue
<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
		<i>SH3</i>	348
		<i>SHc</i>	348

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

THE OUTPUT AND PROFITS OF THE CALAIS MINT, 1349–1450

MARTIN ALLEN

CALAIS was an English possession from 1347 to 1558. A mint was briefly established in the town in 1349–50 to produce coinage to meet the needs of the local garrison, and the mint was re-established on a much more permanent basis in 1363 to convert the profits of the Calais Staple's wool trade into English coins.¹ From the 1360s to the early years of the fifteenth century the issues of the Calais mint almost entirely consisted of gold coins, and a decline in output during a period of increasingly severe bullion shortages culminated in the temporary closure of the mint in 1403 or 1404.² The mint was reopened in 1422, with silver taking a much greater place in its output, but a decline in bullion supplies from the wool trade resulted in the final closure of the mint in about 1450.³

The construction of a series of mint output figures for the Calais mint between its opening for the production of English coinage in 1363 and its final closure in the mid-fifteenth century has been a long and arduous process since the first work on the subject published by Ruding in the nineteenth century. Ruding found evidence for the size of the Calais mint's outputs of 1363–65 in the Pipe Rolls, and Patent Roll records of pyx trials provided him with the silver outputs of 1428–32.⁴ No further progress was achieved until 1911, when F.A. Walters published figures for 1436 and 1439/40 taken from a third source of evidence, the accounts of the treasurer of Calais.⁵ Two years later the tables of royal mint outputs in the reigns of Edward I, II and III published by C.G. Crump and C. Johnson included the Calais figures of 1363–65 already found by Ruding and a new series of gold outputs from 1365 to 1384.⁶ Unfortunately the survey of outputs from 1377 to 1550 compiled by Ethel Stokes overlooked the Calais mint entirely, although Miss Stokes subsequently made unpublished notes from many of the Calais mint accounts at the request of Christopher Blunt.⁷ There was no further progress until the 1970s, when important monographs on the wool and cloth trades by the economic historians T.H. Lloyd and John Munro provided new figures for 1387–1403 and 1422–36. Lloyd's figures suffer from minor errors of calculation and dating, and Munro's statistics are annual estimates in *marcs de Troyes* of pure silver minted, rather than the original figures from the accounts.⁸ In 1979 Peter Woodhead published a useful survey of the mint outputs published up to that time, including the work of Lloyd and Munro.⁹ Munro subsequently corrected Lloyd's interpretation of the figures in an account of 1387–90 and added an output in 1403/4 missed by Lloyd.¹⁰ Finally, Christopher Challis's comprehensive tables of mint outputs published in 1992 included the Calais figures, going back to the original data provided by the mint accounts and records of pyx trials to calculate the values of gold and silver coins struck.¹¹ This was far from being the last word on the subject, however. Challis did not have access to

Acknowledgements. I would like to thank Prof. Peter Spufford for his very helpful comments on a draft of this article.

¹ Deschamps de Pas 1883; Walker 1921–22; Spufford 1979; Woodhead 1979.

² Lloyd 1977, 245; Spufford 1979, 176–7; Munro 1981, 92

³ Munro 1973, 106–20; Lloyd 1977, 262–5; Spufford 1979, 171, 176; Woodhead 1979, 189; Woodhead 1996, 27–8; Stewartby 2009, 292–3.

⁴ Ruding 1840, I, 66, 84–5; III, 451–2.

⁵ Walters 1911, 171–3.

⁶ Crump and Johnson 1913, 234–5, 242–5.

⁷ Brooke and Stokes 1929. Manuscripts loaned to the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum by Lord Stewartby include the notes on the Calais mint by Ethel Stokes, accompanied by three related letters of 26 Sept. to 2 Oct. 1935 addressed to Christopher Blunt.

⁸ Lloyd 1977, 240–1, 244–6; Munro 1973, 188, 190–3, 195–6.

⁹ Woodhead 1979, 193–9.

¹⁰ Munro 1981, 72–3.

¹¹ Challis 1992, 680–3.

the Foreign Account Roll data used by Lloyd and Munro in their calculations, apart from the figures in an account of 1387–90 published by Munro.¹² The Foreign Account Roll data of 1390–1404 and 1424–36 are published here for the first time, together with figures from previously unpublished accounts of 1349–50, 1387–91, 1437–39, 1442/3 and 1448–50, and a reassessment of the other evidence for the size of the Calais mint's output.

Calais was captured by Edward III on 3 August 1347. On 20 October 1347 William de Salop was appointed as keeper of the dies and assayer at Calais, and an order of 6 February 1348, which named William de Salop as the warden of the mint, provided that the moneyers should make silver coins of the same standard as the English coinage.¹³ This does not seem to have been acted upon, but a writ of 28 May 1349 to the captain of Calais ordering him to strike coins to suit local needs resulted in the production of copies of the current French coinage.¹⁴ Three specimens of a Calais *double tournois* imitating a coin introduced by Philip VI of France in December 1348 have been found, and copies of other French coins may have been issued.¹⁵ An account of the treasurer of Calais for 1 January 1349 to 2 April 1350 records the revenue from two successive masters of the mint during the issue of copies of French coins: Nicholas de Cone had a profit of £21 11s. and John Mascorell had 56s. 11d.¹⁶ There is no indication in this account of what the output might have been and we have no means to estimate it in the complete absence of information about the minting charges and costs involved. Subsequent accounts of the treasurer of Calais between 1350 and 1363 do not mention the mint, which may indicate that the mint closed no later than April 1350.

On 5 May 1350 a syndicate headed by Nicholas de Multoplusane and Thomas de Notyngham obtained an indenture to strike gold, silver and billon coins of the same type, weight and alloy as the current French coinage at the Calais mint, paying the same seigniorage per pound of gold or silver as at the London mint, but this indenture was cancelled without being implemented.¹⁷ Another indenture of the same date between Edward III and the merchants of Calais certifying that the king had ordered gold, silver and billon coins of the same alloy and type as the French coinage was also cancelled.¹⁸

The Calais mint was reopened for the production of a coinage of purely English standards and types in 1363. The first account of the revived mint (for the period from 20 February 1363 to 10 April 1364) does not provide any direct record of outputs, which have to be deduced from the recorded seigniorages of £617 10s. 1½d. from gold and £33 9s. 6d. for silver.¹⁹ At the then current rates of 3s. 6d. per Tower pound of gold and 3d. per pound of silver these seigniorages indicate outputs of about 3,528.61 pounds of gold and exactly 2,678 pounds of silver, worth some £52,929 and £3,348, respectively.²⁰ The account of 10 April 1364 to 13 April 1365 is more helpful, specifying purchases of £683 3s. 3¾d. of gold and £389 11s. 1d. of silver by weight (dividing the Tower pound into twenty shillings of twelve pennyweights each, as was customary in the mint accounts until the 1420s).²¹ Silver now disappears from the Calais accounts until 1422.

From 13 April 1365 to 13 April 1366 £6,387 1s. 11½d. weight of gold was purchased, worth about £95,806 in new coins.²² The total amount of gold purchased in the account of 13 April 1366 to 20 March 1368 is £7,597 6s. 7½d. by weight, but £447 10s. 0d. of this was received after 8 December 1367, when the seigniorage charged at the Calais mint was increased from 3s. 6d. per Tower pound to 4s.²³ These amounts of gold would have supplied coins

¹² Munro 1981, 72–3.

¹³ Rymer 1739–45, III(i), 140, 150; Ruding 1840, II, 254; Walker 1921–22, 78–9; Woodhead 1979, 185.

¹⁴ Rymer 1739–45, III(i), 185; Ruding 1840, II, 254; Walker 1921–22, 79; Woodhead 1979, 185–6.

¹⁵ Woodhead 1979, 186; Duncan Elias 1984, 147–8; information from Paul and Bente Withers.

¹⁶ TNA: PRO, E 372/194, rot. 47. I owe this reference to the unpublished notes made by Ethel Stokes in 1935 (see n.7).

¹⁷ TNA: PRO, C/47/24/11/3; Walker 1921–22, 79–80.

¹⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354*, 224; Woodhead 1979, 185.

¹⁹ TNA: PRO, E 101/177/4 and E 372/208, rot. 51.

²⁰ Challis 1992, 705–11, summarizes the provisions of the London and Calais of mint indentures 1363–1459, including the minting charges.

²¹ TNA: PRO, E 372/210, rot. 38d.

²² TNA: PRO, E 364/2, rot. 4.

²³ TNA: PRO, E 364/2, rot. 4.

worth about £107,247 up to 8 December 1367 and £6,713 after that date. This division of the accounts in December 1367 unfortunately escaped the attention of Crump and Johnson, and Challis.²⁴ The account of 20 March 1368 to 16 October 1371 is divided into the three periods shown in Table 2 below (pp. 137–8), with gold purchases worth about £9,100, £51,923 and £15,463, respectively.²⁵ The accounts of 1371–75 are relatively straightforward, recording the outputs shown in the table, but there is an apparent contradiction between the accounts of 1375–84 and 1380–3.²⁶ In the mint account of 4 November 1375 to 7 January 1384 there are purchases of £1,983 11s. 11d. by weight of gold with a master's mintage charge of 1s. per pound to 15 May 1381, and a further £5 19s. 10d. by weight at 1s. 6d. per pound after that date.²⁷ An account of the treasurer of Calais for 17 December 1380 to 29 September 1383 seems to contradict this information, because it reports that the master Walter de Barde had stated on oath that there was no minting in the period of the account, but it may be significant that this statement was not supported by written accounts for the period in question.²⁸ It is, however, safe to assume that the Calais mint was effectively closed by the end of the treasurer's account in 1383. The wool trade was brought to a standstill by the French invasion of West Flanders in the autumn of 1382, and from the spring of 1383 English wool exports were sent to a new staple at Middelburg in Zeeland and not to Calais.²⁹ The mint account for 29 September 1383 to 29 September 1384 has no recorded issues, and it was only in 1389 that the Calais mint's activity resumed, after the return of the wool staple to Calais on 2 February 1389.³⁰

An account of 17 January 1387 to 10 November 1391 states that no coinage was struck until 4 February 1389, and that there were purchases of £4,549 14s. 5d. of gold by weight between 4 February 1389 and 10 November 1391.³¹ This account was unknown to Lloyd and Munro, who offered differing interpretations of an account for a partly overlapping period from 17 January 1387 to 17 January 1390, which records a seigniorage of £379 11s. 11½d.³² Lloyd believed that this seigniorage exclusively related to the period ending on 28 February 1388, when a new comptroller of the Calais mint was appointed, but Munro argued that the seigniorage related to the entire three-year period of the account. This was a matter of particular importance to Lloyd and Munro in their debate on the effects the introduction of Flemish imitations of the English gold noble in October 1388.³³ The newly discovered account of 1387–91 shows that the Calais mint's production of gold coins actually resumed no earlier than 4 February 1389, after the issue of Flemish nobles began and presumably as a consequence of the return of staple to Calais. Another account, for 17 January 1390 to 16 January 1393, records a seigniorage of £77 4s. 3d., indicating the issue of about £6,618 in gold.³⁴ This poses a further problem of interpretation. The two accounts of 1387–90 and 1390–93 taken together seem to indicate a total output of some £39,155 of gold in 1387–93, but the account of 1389–91 records an output of £68,246, which is nearly twice as much in a shorter period. The explanation of this apparent contradiction may be that the account of 1390–93, which does not specifically state the period of the output concerned, is reporting activity not already recorded in the account of 1389–91.

²⁴ Crump and Johnson, 1913, 244–5; Challis 1992, 681.

²⁵ TNA: PRO, E 364/6, rot. 4d.

²⁶ TNA: PRO, E 364/7, rot. 5 [16 Oct. 1371 to 4 Nov. 1373]; E 364/8, rot. 6d [4 Nov. 1373 to 4 Nov. 1374]; E 364/10, rot. 4 [4 Nov. 1374 to 4 Nov. 1375]; E 364/19, rot. 4 [4 Nov. 1375 to 7 Jan. 1384]; E 364/17, rot. 4 [17 Dec. 1380 to 29 Sept. 1383].

²⁷ The total minting charges were reduced from 5s. per pound of gold to 4s. per pound from the beginning of this account, which is a change that escaped the notice of Crump and Johnson 1913, 244–5.

²⁸ TNA: PRO, E 364/17, rot. 4.

²⁹ Lloyd 1977, 229–30.

³⁰ TNA: PRO, E 364/17, rot. 3d; Lloyd 1977, 231.

³¹ TNA: PRO, E 364/25, rot. 5d.

³² TNA: PRO, E 364/25, rot. 5.

³³ Lloyd 1977, 246; Munro 1981, 71–2.

³⁴ TNA: PRO, E 364/28, rot. 2.

From 1393 to 1404 there is an unbroken series of treasurers' accounts recording seigniorages, as shown in Table 2.³⁵ The treasurer's account of 25 August 1399 to 30 March 1403 records a seigniorage of £178 19s. 11½d., and the particulars of account for 29 September 1401 to 30 March 1403 show £30 6s. 1½d. in seigniorage from purchases of £173 3s. 8½d. weight of gold, implying a seigniorage of £148 13s. 10d. from an output of gold coins worth about £12,745 between 25 August 1399 and 29 September 1401. There was a final seigniorage of £3 10s. 4d. in the twelve months to 30 March 1404, indicating an output of some £301 of gold, after which the Calais mint closed until 1422.³⁶

After the reopening of the Calais mint in 1422 there are two principal sources of evidence for its output: the seigniorages recorded in the accounts of the treasurer of Calais, and records of pyx trials in the Patent Rolls. There is a continuous series of seigniorages in the treasurer's accounts from 1422 to 1436, but they are of limited value as evidence of output because it is never stated whether the seigniorage is derived from gold or silver or from both until the very last account in 1436.³⁷ The Patent Roll records of pyx trials are much more informative, specifying weights of gold and silver struck, but they present some difficult problems of chronology, and they end in 1432.

TABLE 1. Silver in the pyx trial of 14 October 1424

Date	Weight of silver		
	£	s.	d.
20 July 1422	185	11	3
20 Aug. 1422	326	5	10
18 Sept. 1422	447	4	2
21 Oct. 1422	331	5	10
17 Nov. 1422	540	19	4½
19 Dec. 1422	177	17	1
24 Jan. 1423	577	12	6
25 Feb. 1423	424	15	0
20 Mar. 1423	267	0	0
18 Apr. 1423	508	0	0
27 May 1423	415	10	0
28 June 1423	241	0	0
24 July 1423	757	11	8
29 Aug. 1423	210	6	8
28 Sept. 1423	267	13	4
22 Oct. 1423	579	6	8
23 Nov. 1423	150	16	8
28 Dec. 1423	563	10	0
30 Jan. 1424	207	0	0
Total, 20 July 1422 to 30 Jan. 1424 ³⁸	7,172	11	0½

The first recorded pyx trial, held at Westminster on 14 October 1424, examined the pyx samples from £3,635½ 12s. 8½d. of gold and £7,172 11s. 0½d. of silver by weight delivered between 20 July 1422 and 30 January 1424.³⁹ The record of the trial includes a schedule of the deliveries of nineteen dated 'schinches' or bags of silver coins, summarized in Table 1, which shows that the dates covered by the trial are those of the dating and sealing of the schinches

³⁵ TNA: PRO, E 364/28, rot. 2d [16 Jan. 1393 to 16 Jan. 1394]; E 101/184/3 and E 364/30, rot. 6 [17 Jan. 1394 to 17 Oct. 1395]; E 364/34, rot. 8d [18 Oct. 1395 to 18 Oct. 1397]; E 364/36, rot. 4d [18 Oct. 1397 to 25 Aug. 1399]; E 364/37, rot. 6d [25 Aug. 1399 to 30 Mar. 1403]; E 101/184/10, fol. 4 [29 Sept. 1401 to 30 Mar. 1403]; E 364/39, rot. 4 [30 Mar. 1403 to 30 Mar. 1404].

³⁶ TNA: PRO, E 364/39, rot. 4; Munro 1981, 72-3.

³⁷ TNA: PRO, E 101/188/1, E 364/59, rot. 3 [4 Feb. 1422 to 4 Feb. 1424]; E 364/62, rot. 1 [4 Feb. 1424 to 4 Feb. 1426]; E 364/62, rot. 1 [4 Feb. 1426 to 4 Feb. 1428]; E 364/63, rot. 8 [4 Feb. 1428 to 4 Feb. 1429]; E 101/190/7, E 364/65, rot. 4 [4 Feb. 1429 to 4 Feb. 1431]; E 101/190/12, E 364/66, rot. 3 [4 Feb. 1431 to 4 Feb. 1432]; E 364/69, rot. 2 [4 Feb. 1432 to 4 Feb. 1434]; E 364/72, rot. 4d [4 Feb. 1434 to 10 Feb. 1436]; E 364/75, rot. 13d [10 Feb. 1436 to 30 Mar. 1436].

³⁸ The actual total of the nineteen weights of silver is £7,179 6s. 0½d.

³⁹ TNA: PRO, C 66/419, m. 18; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1422-1429*, 337-8.

and not necessarily the dates of purchase or minting of the bullion. The supply of dies to Calais was authorized on 16 May 1422, more than two months before the stated starting date of the pyx trial.⁴⁰ Woodhead suggested that the Calais mint may have begun operations some four or five weeks before the sealing of the first schinche on 20 July 1422, because the schinches were subsequently sealed at intervals of about a month apart.⁴¹ There is one schinche for each calendar month between July 1422 and January 1424. Challis used the schedule of schinches to calculate silver outputs of £1,439 from 20 July to 18 September 1422, £7,080 from 31 October 1422 to 28 September 1423, and £2,252 between 22 October 1423 and 30 January 1424, but this relies upon the questionable assumption that there was no minting in the intervals between the dated sealing of schinches in September to October 1422 and September to October 1423.⁴²

At the next pyx trial, held on 7 July 1428, forty-two schinches contained samples from 67,745 lb. 4 oz. 10 dwt. of silver delivered between 25 February 1424 and 31 January 1428.⁴³ This presumably means that the first schinche was sealed on 25 February 1424, holding samples of the silver output since the sealing of the last schinche of the 1424 pyx trial on 30 January 1424. The gold output of £2,134½ 9s. 7d. by weight tried in 1428 is dated in the record from 24 January 1424 to 24 December 1427, and it will be noted that this period begins six days before the stated period of the 1424 trial ended, on 30 January 1424. There may possibly have been an error in the recording of the date of the first of twenty gold schinches. The gold weight is recorded in the £ s. d. notation used in English royal mint accounts until the 1420s, but the silver weight is given in the pound, ounce and pennyweight notation normal in the accounts from 1425–27 onwards.⁴⁴

The pyx trial of 27 October 1432 tested samples from 89,660 lb. 9½ oz. of silver and 361 lb. 4 oz. 10 dwt. of gold issued in 1428–31.⁴⁵ The periods covered by the trial are stated to be from 20 February 1428 to 3 August 1431 for silver and from 20 May 1428 to 2 August 1431 for gold, which presumably means that the first schinche of silver after the closure of the last pyx trial period on 31 January 1428 was delivered on 20 February 1428, and that there was a much greater gap in the dates of gold schinches between 24 December 1427 in the previous trial and 20 May 1428 in the current one.

The Calais mint was closed for a period of probably only a few weeks after the delivery of the gold and silver schinches dated on 2 and 3 August 1431, as a consequence of the death of Bartholomew Goldbeter (alias Bartholomew Seman), the master of the London and Calais mints.⁴⁶ Thomas Hansard, his deputy in Calais, sent a petition to the king's council, saying that he had shut the mint when he received news of his master's death, and asking for authority to reopen it until a new master should be appointed. He reported that a 'grete quantite of monoe uncoigned' was accumulating at the mint 'more and more'.⁴⁷ Thomas Hansard did not have long to wait for the appointment of a new master, because William Rus was appointed as the master of the royal mints by an indenture of 8 September 1431.⁴⁸

The pyx trial of October 1432 examined samples from 26,182 lb. 10½ oz. of silver dated between 31 October 1431 and 30 September 1432, in addition to the samples of 1428–31.⁴⁹ The reference to stocks of unminted bullion in Thomas Hansard's petition suggests that the minting of the silver actually began soon after the appointment of the new master William Rus on 8 September 1431, if it had not started even earlier under the authority requested by Hansard.

⁴⁰ Nicolas 1834–37, II, 332; Walker 1921–22, 91; Woodhead 1979, 189.

⁴¹ Woodhead 1979, 199.

⁴² Challis 1992, 682.

⁴³ TNA: PRO, C 66/424, m. 18, C 66/433, m. 10–11; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1422–1429*, 519–20; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429–1436*, 256.

⁴⁴ The pound, ounce and pennyweight notation first appears in the London account of 29 Sept. 1425 to 20 Apr. 1427 (TNA: PRO, E 364/60, rot. 7d).

⁴⁵ TNA: PRO, C 66/433, m. 10–11; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429–1436*, 256–7.

⁴⁶ Bartholomew Goldbeter made two wills, on 5 and 25 July 1431 (Reddaway and Walker 1975, 306).

⁴⁷ TNA: PRO, SC 8/115/5743.

⁴⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1429–1435*, 173–7.

⁴⁹ TNA: PRO, C 66/433, m. 10–11; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1429–1436*, 258–9.

The Calais mint's issue of gold coins may have ceased after the delivery of the last schinche of the pyx trial period of 1428–31 on 2 August 1431 and the subsequent temporary closure of the mint. The surviving issues of the Calais mint seem to provide some support for this assumption, because there are no known gold coins of Calais later than Henry VI's Rosette-Mascle issue, which Woodhead has tentatively dated to 1430–31.⁵⁰ The London mint account of 31 March 1430 to 29 September 1431 includes money received from the treasurer of Calais, Richard Buckland, for the supply of groat, halfgroat, penny and halfpenny dies, but he did not buy any new dies for gold coins in this period.⁵¹ In 1435 and 1441 the king's council authorized the treasurer of Calais to obtain specified numbers of dies for particular denominations, and in both cases the dies were for silver coins only.⁵² Thus we can be reasonably certain that the seigniorages in the Calais treasurer's accounts of 4 February 1432 to 4 February 1434 and from that date to 10 February 1436 exclusively refer to silver coinage at the current rate of 3d. per Tower pound.⁵³ The treasurer Richard Buckland died in 1436, and the account of his executors for 10 February to 30 March 1436 unambiguously states that the seigniorage of £21 9s. 3d. came from 1,717 pounds of silver.⁵⁴ The account of John Kempley for the Calais mint from 30 March 1436 to 10 February 1437 reports that no coins had been struck because of the war with Burgundy (Calais was besieged in 1436).⁵⁵

There was a revival in the Calais mint's activity after the conclusion of the war with Burgundy, but in 1439 the duke of Burgundy banned exports of bullion to Calais, causing a sharp decline in output.⁵⁶ Previously unpublished accounts record seigniorages of £2 6s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in 1437/8 and £39 16s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in 1438/9, indicating outputs of about £279 and £4,781 of silver, but the seigniorage of £4 17s. 5d. in 1439/40 found by Walters indicates an output of only some £585.⁵⁷ It has been suggested that the output of 1439/40 may relate to the Calais mint's last coinage, in Henry VI's Trefoil issue.⁵⁸ The documented activity of the Calais mint has, however, been extended to 1442/3 and 1448–50 by the discovery of seigniorages in two account books of Giles Seyntlowe, the comptroller of Calais. The account book for 25 December 1442 to 25 December 1443 has a seigniorage of £66 18s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.⁵⁹ This implies an output of some £8,031 in silver coins, which presumably resulted from the liberalisation of the regulations of the Calais wool staple in October 1442 and the consequent rise in wool exports through Calais.⁶⁰ A seigniorage of £19 1s. 3d. in the account book of 17 May 1448 to 17 May 1450 indicates an output of about £2,288.⁶¹ In the absence of account books between 1450 and 1457 it is not possible to know whether this was the last period of activity at the Calais mint. The account book of the treasurer for 24 June 1457 to 24 June 1458 records that there was no seigniorage from the mint because no coinage was struck.⁶²

On 29 January 1441 Robert Whittingham, the treasurer of Calais, was authorized to receive twelve obverse dies and ninety-six reverse dies for groats, and three obverse dies and twelve reverse dies for each of the smaller denominations of the silver coinage (the halfgroat, penny, halfpenny and farthing).⁶³ The seigniorages documented in the accounts of 1442/3 and 1448–50 certainly suggest that the treasurer obtained dies for the mint in 1441 or later, but there are no

⁵⁰ Woodhead 1996, 29–30, 80–4.

⁵¹ TNA: PRO, E 364/65, rot. 9d.; Allen 2007, 197–8.

⁵² Nicolas 1834–37, IV, 130–1, 306–7; Walker 1921–22, 92–3; Allen 2007, 197–8.

⁵³ TNA: PRO, E 364/69, rot. 2 [4 Feb. 1432 to 4 Feb. 1434]; E 364/72, rot. 4d [4 Feb. 1434 to 10 Feb. 1436].

⁵⁴ TNA: PRO, E 364/75, rot. 13d.

⁵⁵ TNA: PRO, E 101/192/4.

⁵⁶ Munro 1973, 120, 124–6; Spufford 1970, 101–5; Spufford 1979, 176.

⁵⁷ TNA: PRO, E 101/192/12, fol. 10^v, E 101/192/13, fol. 12^v [10 Feb. 1437 to 10 Feb. 1438]; E 101/192/17, fol. 13^r [10 Feb. 1438 to 10 Feb. 1439]; TNA: PRO, E 101/192/20, fol. 17^r [10 Feb. 1439 to 10 Feb. 1440]; Walters 1911, 173.

⁵⁸ TNA: PRO, E 101/192/20, fol. 17^r; Walters 1911, 173; Stewartby 2009, 293.

⁵⁹ TNA: PRO, E 101/194/1, fol. 20^v.

⁶⁰ Munro 1973, 124–6; Lloyd 1977, 264, 268–9.

⁶¹ TNA: PRO, E 101/194/18, fol. 20^v.

⁶² TNA: PRO, E 101/195/7, fol. 28^v.

⁶³ Nicolas 1834–37, V, 130–1; Walker 1921–22, 93; Allen 2007, 197–8.

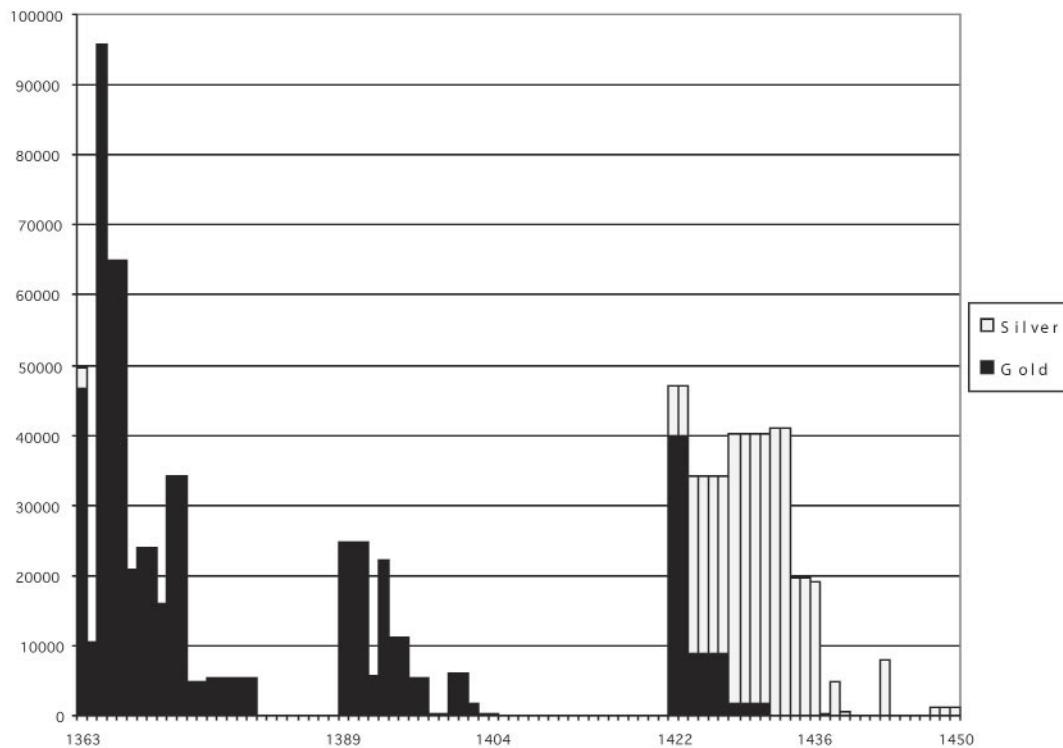


Fig. 1. Mint output (£ per annum), 1363–1450.

coins of Calais from dies that might be dated after the early 1440s.⁶⁴ The output of 1448–50 presumably used dies supplied earlier and held in reserve.

The chart of mint output in Figure 1 shows that annual output reached a peak of nearly £100,000 in the 1360s (£95,806 of gold in 1365/6), falling to about £5,000 or less in 1374–81 and a negligible amount (£38) in the last period before the closure of the mint in the 1380s (1381–83).⁶⁵ After the reopening of the mint in 1389 the output declined from £24,688 per annum in 1389–91 to only £301 in the last accounting year before the second closure of the mint, 1403/4. Between 1422 and 1434 output was about £40,000 per annum, but silver constituted most of this from 1424 and probably all of it after the brief closure of the mint in 1431. In 1434–36 the annual output was nearly £20,000, but after the Burgundian siege of Calais in 1436 and the closure of the mint in 1436–37 output fell to only £279 in 1437/8, and the highest recorded annual output between 1437 and 1450 is only £8,031, in 1442/3.

TABLE 2. Bullion purchases, seigniorage and mint output

Period	Weight of gold purchased	Weight of silver purchased	Seigniorage	Value of gold output	Value of silver output
20 Feb. 1363–10 Apr. 1364	[3,528.61 lb.]	[2,678 lb.]		£52,929	£3,348
10 Apr. 1364–13 Apr. 1365	£683 3s. 3½d.	£389 11s. 1d.		£10,247	£487
13 Apr. 1365–13 Apr. 1366	£6,387 1s. 11½d.			£95,806	—
14 Apr. 1366–8 Dec. 1367	£7,149 16s. 7½d.			£107,247	—

⁶⁴ Stewartby 2009, 293.

⁶⁵ The chart of annual output is based upon the data in Table 1. The annual outputs derived from the pyx trial data of 1422–31 have been calculated for the periods from 20 July 1422 to 30 Jan. 1424, from 30 Jan. 1424 to 31 Jan. 1428, and from that date to 3 August 1431.

OUTPUT AND PROFITS OF THE CALAIS MINT

Period	Weight of gold purchased	Weight of silver purchased	Seigniorage	Value of gold output	Value of silver output
8 Dec. 1367–20 Mar. 1368	£447 10s. 0d.			£6,713	—
20 Mar. 1368–27 Aug. 1368	£606 13s. 6½d.			£9,100	—
27 Aug. 1368–26 Oct. 1370	£3,461 10s. 5¾d.			£51,923	—
26 Oct. 1370–16 Oct. 1371	£1,030 17s. 3½d.			£15,463	—
16 Oct. 1371–4 Nov. 1373	£4,672 7s. 9d.			£70,086	—
4 Nov. 1373–16 June 1374	£608 10s. 11d.			£9,128	—
16 June 1374–4 Nov. 1374	£123 12s. 7½d.			£1,854	—
4 Nov. 1374–14 July 1375	£110 4s. 7½d.			£1,653	—
14 July 1375–4 Nov. 1375	£97 19s. 0d.			£1,469	—
4 Nov. 1375–15 May 1381 ⁶⁶	£1,983 11s. 11d.			£29,754	—
15 May 1381–29 Sept. 1383	£5 19s. 10d.			£90	—
1382/3–1389			MINT CLOSED		
4 Feb. 1389–17 Jan. 1390		£379 11s. 11½d.	£32,537		
4 Feb. 1389–10 Nov. 1391	£4,549 14s. 5d.	£796 4s. 0½d.	£68,246		
17 Jan. 1390–16 Jan. 1393		£77 4s. 3d.	£6,618		
16 Jan. 1393–16 Jan. 1394		£258 16s. 3d.	£22,184		
17 Jan. 1394–17 Oct. 1395		£229 12s. 0d.	£19,680		
18 Oct. 1395–18 Oct. 1397		£123 5s. 0¼d.	£10,564		
18 Oct. 1397–25 Aug. 1399		£4 4s. 8½d.	£363		
25 Aug. 1399–29 Sept. 1401		£148 13s. 10d.	£12,745		
29 Sept. 1401–30 Mar. 1403	£173 3s. 8½d.	£30 6s. 1¾d.	£2,598		
30 Mar. 1403–30 Mar. 1404		£3 10s. 4d.	£301		
1403/4–1422		MINT CLOSED			
4 Feb. 1422–4 Feb. 1424		£727 8s. 3¾d.			
20 July 1422–30 Jan. 1424	£3,635½ 12s. 8½d.	£7,172 11s. 0½d.	£60,602	£10,759	
4 Feb. 1424–4 Feb. 1426		£570 9s. 2¼d.			
24 Jan. 1424–24 Dec. 1427	£2,134½ 9s. 7d.		£35,588		
25 Feb. 1424–31 Jan. 1428		£67,745 4 oz. 10 dwt.			£101,618
4 Feb. 1426–4 Feb. 1428		£451 7s. 6¼d.			
4 Feb. 1428–4 Feb. 1429		£249 16s. 5¼d.			
20 Feb. 1428–3 Aug. 1431		£89,660 9½ oz.			£134,491
20 May 1428–2 Aug. 1431	£361 4 oz. 10 dwt.			£6,023	
4 Feb. 1429–4 Feb. 1431		£703 1s. 10d.			
4 Feb. 1431–4 Feb. 1432		£432 11s. 9¼d.			
31 Oct. 1431–30 Sept. 1432		£26,182 10½ oz.			£39,274
4 Feb. 1432–4 Feb. 1434		£683 8s. 11½d.			£82,014
4 Feb. 1434–10 Feb. 1436		£332 3s. 10¼d.			£39,863
10 Feb. 1436–30 Mar. 1436		£1,717 0s. 0d.	£21 9s. 3d.		£2,576
30 Mar. 1436–10 Feb. 1437		MINT CLOSED			
10 Feb. 1437–10 Feb. 1438		£2 6s. 6¾d.			£279
10 Feb. 1438–10 Feb. 1439		£39 16s. 10¼d.			£4,781
10 Feb. 1439–10 Feb. 1440		£4 17s. 5d.			£585
10 Feb. 1440–25 Dec. 1442		NO ACCOUNTS			
25 Dec. 1442–25 Dec. 1443		£66 18s. 5¼d.			£8,031
25 Dec. 1443–17 May 1448		NO ACCOUNTS			
17 May 1448–17 May 1450		£19 1s. 3d.			£2,288
17 May 1450–24 June 1457		NO ACCOUNTS: MINT CLOSED?			
24 June 1457–24 June 1458		MINT CLOSED			

⁶⁶ Crump and Johnson 1913, 244–5, records the purchases of this period as £1,984 1s. 11d. Account books of the treasurer and the comptroller of Calais for 5 Nov. 1375 to 4 Nov. 1376 record a seigniorage of £110 9s. 3d. (TNA: PRO, E 101/180/4, fol. 14^r; E 101/180/5, fol. 13^r).

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 2009

THE ILLUSTRATION OF COINS: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY. PART I

ROBIN J. EAGLEN

Introduction

BECAUSE of the scope of my subject, embracing physics, art, aesthetics, printing and photography, and their impact on the evolution of numismatic publications and studies, I have decided to divide my address into two parts. This year I shall – with the occasional excursion into modernity – take my study up to 1840, and publication of the third edition of Ruding's *Annals*.¹ Next year I shall deal with the impact of photography from the 1840s through to the present digital age.

The illustration of coins gives rise to both theoretical and practical challenges. The extent to which these challenges are met determines the accuracy of such images and their usefulness to the numismatist. I would like to begin with a little homely philosophy and science. The only true image of a coin is the coin itself. But even this statement needs qualification. The appearance of a coin will vary according to the circumstances in which we observe it. Since what we see is determined by the light which the object absorbs and reflects, the quality and degree of light and the colours derived from the ambient environment affect what we see. This is as true of the camera lens as it is of the human eye. It is especially true of coins with a bright surface. For example, photographing a ten pence piece with my Nikon D200 digital camera when I was wearing a fawn sweater produced a very different toning from when I experimented by wearing a red sweater. A further qualification is that we cannot know to what extent you and I are seeing the same image in identical situations, regardless of any impairment, such as colour blindness.

The unique boon of coin illustration is that it enables both sides of a coin to be seen together, an advantage denied in nature. However, a complete edge inscription, as used by Thomas Simon, with such telling but unrewarded skill, cannot be shown naturalistically.² Indeed, the greatest disadvantage of illustration is that a three-dimensional object is usually being reproduced on a two-dimensional plane. Steps have been taken to overcome this drawback. In the middle of the nineteenth century, H.N. Humphreys published *Ancient Coins and Medals*, illustrated (in his words) 'by Barclay's process in the metals of the respective coins' (Pl. 17.1).³ This probably represents the most serious effort made to capture verisimilitude of any book on coins. However, it did not carry the day, possibly because of cost and inconvenience, but most importantly because, apart from being appealing to a lay public, it failed to convey numismatic detail as clearly as two dimensional illustrations.

The challenge of mimicking relief without visual impairment is integral to the history of coin illustration, which I shall now consider.

Acknowledgements. The author would like to express his gratitude to the following who have provided information and advice towards the preparation of his address (in two parts) and its publication: Dr Martin Allen, Marion Archibald, Dr Kevin Clancy, François de Callataÿ, Dr Philip de Jersey, Graham Dyer, Adrian James, Peter Mitchell, James Morton, Hugh Pagan, Douglas Saville, David Sealy, Philip Skingley, Jørgen Sømod, John Spring, Robert Thompson, Dr Oliver Volckart and Peter Woodhead. The author also acknowledges the continuous debt to his wife, Jenny, who makes good his incompetence and indolence on the computer. Naturally, any remaining blemishes are the responsibility of the author alone.

¹ Ruding 1840.

² Oman 1931, 331–2; Challis 1992, 344, 348–50, 363.

³ Humphreys 1851. Barclay conducted a business from 22 Gerrard Street, London.

Earliest illustrations

The spread of numismatically significant coin illustration sprang from two separate, but complementary phenomena: the Renaissance in Europe and the invention of printing. The Renaissance revived an avid interest in the ancient world of Greece and especially Rome beyond the realm of ethics. An early stage involved collecting objects surviving from the past, including, of course, coins. By education, wealth and opportunity the earliest collectors were from the highest echelons of secular and ecclesiastical society.⁴ The story of numismatics is how, from those beginnings, the serious study of coins evolved and their collection ceased to be the preserve of the very wealthy and elite. How many collector schoolchildren with pocket money to spend realise they are following in the footsteps of such exalted forebears?

The Renaissance, and with it numismatics, received an enormous stimulus from the invention of printing, starting with the Gutenberg Bible c.1455 and its spread to England, through Caxton, from 1476.⁵ Before the invention of printing, representations of coins in manuscripts were used for decorative purposes. In the most famous early example, *Historia Imperialis* by Giovanni Mansionario, dated between 1313 and 1320, the images were placed in the margins to portray the emperors mentioned in the text (Fig. 1).⁶

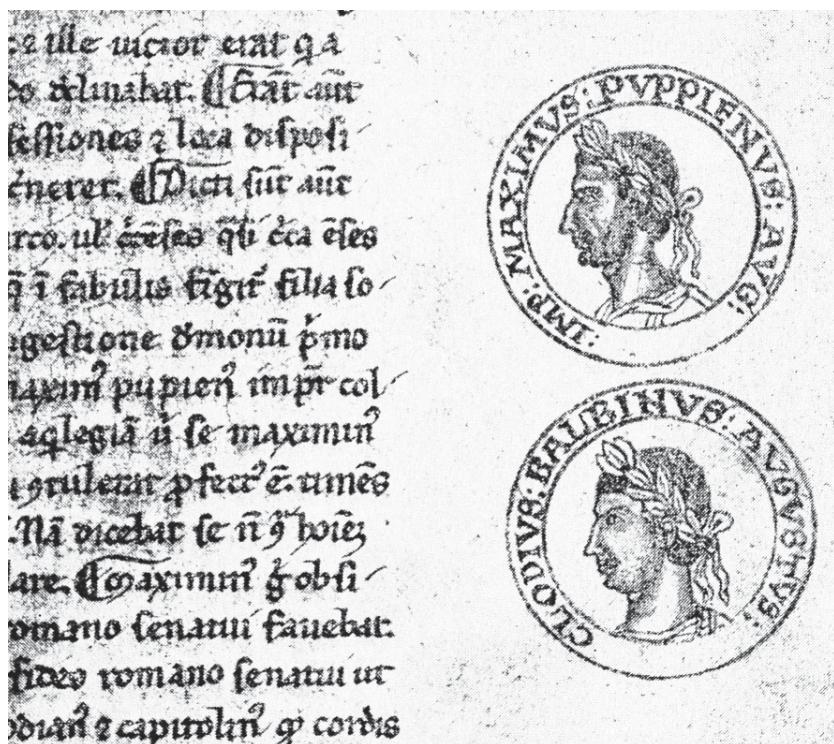


Fig. 1. Mansionario's *Historia Imperialis* (1313–20) (Vatican Library, Rome).

Coins in art

Alongside both manuscript and later printed material, coins also appear in the works of artists. They were normally, however, portrayed generically – as metal discs – because their inclusion generally served to convey a moral or satirical message. A good example is Hans Holbein the Younger's *Laís Corinthiaca* (1526), representing venal love (Pl. 17.2); Corinth had a prodigious

⁴ Babelon 2004, 65. A valuable bibliography on the history of coin collecting is contained in Cunnally 2004, 156–7, n.1.

⁵ Tames 2000, 5, 10; *ODNB* 1975, 1292.

⁶ Vatican Library MS, Chigiano I.VII.259. See Cunnally 2004, 34; Weiss 1968, 177.

reputation in classical times for its courtesans and prostitutes.⁷ More unusually, in *Two Tax Gatherers* (Pl. 17.3) by Marinus van Reymerswaele (c.1509–67), the coins on the counting table are identifiable but this is irrelevant other than to emphasise that the unsavoury characters in the picture are also lifelike. Compared with Holbein's discreet portrayal, Marinus's opinion of the two men is left in no doubt.

Cartoonists in more recent centuries offer parallel examples. An anonymous cartoon, prompted by the last recoinage of George III in 1817, shows an unidentifiable mass of silver (**Pl. 18.1**) whereas Peter Brookes' cartoon, following the recent and much derided abolition of the 10% income tax rate, reproduces the waspishly modified reverse of a ten pence piece (**Pl. 18.2**). A salacious fusion of art and cartoonists' ribaldry is manifest in Tracy Enim's inkjet photographic print entitled 'I've got it all' in 2000 in which Enim is seen inserting coins and banknotes into herself.

Woodcuts and copper-plate engravings

Albrecht Dürer, born in 1471, recognised – as did Hogarth later – that a livelihood was to be made from designing and issuing affordable artistic prints.⁸ For this purpose he perfected both the techniques of the woodcut and of engraving on copper plate. The latter technique derived from engraved artefacts, including armour, for which Germany was renowned. Few could achieve the virtuoso skills of Dürer, however, and although wood-engraving was used effectively for coin illustration – as in a work by A. Berg in 1597 (Fig. 2)⁹ – the capacity for easier precision ensured that copper-plate engraving prevailed by the early seventeenth century. It has nevertheless to be admitted that well executed wood-engraving could achieve a close affinity to the coins being copied. This raises the question how far die and wood-engravers influenced each other.



Fig. 2. Berg (1597, Pl. Lii verso) (Douglas Saville).

Printed images

The earliest book containing printed images derived from coins is Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrum imagines* (1517), featuring Roman emperors and other personages.¹⁰ Pl. 19.1 shows a page devoted to Mark Anthony. It will be observed that no attempt is made to reproduce the inscription from the coin on which the engraving is based, the field being used simply to label the portrait. Somewhat extraordinarily, no examples of British coins appear in books published in England until the fifth edition of Camden's *Britannia*, printed in 1600 (Fig. 3).¹¹ This was

⁷ Grant 1986, 188; *OCD* 2003, 1263–4; Genz 1956, Pl. 70 and cat. nos 40, 231.

⁸ Rübesamen 1963, 7; Webster 1979, 31–2; Rosenthal 1980, 5.

⁹ Berg 1597, 119, Pl. Lii verso.

¹⁰ Weiss 1969, 185.

¹¹ Camden 1600, 69; *DNB* 1975, 736; Manville 2009, 48.

closely followed by illustrations in Speed's *History of Great Britaine* in 1611 (Fig. 4), associated with his renowned publication of maps.¹² In Speed, the Two Stars type of William I, shown here, was attributed to William II.



Figs 3–4. Stater of Cunobelin from Camden's *Britannia* (1600) (left); Two Stars type of William I from Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (edition of 1627) (right) (Society of Antiquaries, London).

In the previous century, however, books had been produced on the continent to help merchants determine the value of the coin types likely to pass through their hands. One notable example was by Joos Lambrecht, published in 1551 and revised in 1580. In it a variety of the George-noble of Henry VIII was illustrated, with a three-masted, rather than the usual single-masted ship on the reverse (Fig. 5 below). This variety was unknown until one appeared at auction through Sotheby in 1981.¹³ Such handbooks were of less use in England where foreign coin was mainly, but not always effectively, banned from circulation.¹⁴ When an official exception was made, as in the case of gold pistolets in 1560, the proclamation to that effect illustrated the types of coin referred to (Pl. 19.2).¹⁵ The antecedents of such proclamations are to be found in Germany as early as the 1480s, where certain cities printed pamphlets and posters warning about the circulation of false gulden.¹⁶

Development of numismatic studies

The first British numismatic studies proper were carried out by distinguished churchmen at the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ First came Archbishop Sharp (?1645–1714), although his work was not published in its entirety until 1785.¹⁸ Before other later authors, Bishop Nicholson made use of Sharp's work in his *The English Historical Library* (1696–99),¹⁹ and Bishop

¹² Speed 1611 (Fig. 4 taken from edition of 1627, 417); Manville 2009, 270. The illustrations used by Speed came from coins owned by Cotton (Archibald 2006, 175–6).

¹³ Sotheby, 18 February 1981, 14 (illustrated).

¹⁴ See Cook 1999, 232–84.

¹⁵ Challis 1978, 217–8.

¹⁶ Griese 1997, 52, 55.

¹⁷ Ruding 1840, I, vii–viii.

¹⁸ Sharp 1785; Ruding 1840, I, viii; Manville 2009, 256.

¹⁹ Nicholson 1696–99; Manville 2009, 200, 256.

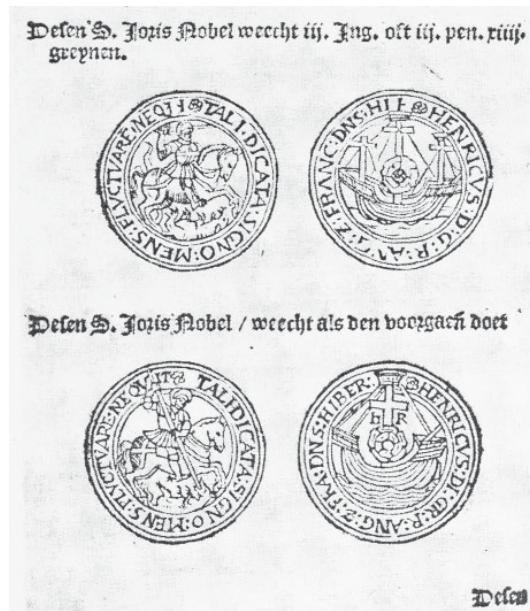


Fig. 5. Lambrecht's illustration of a three-masted ship on the George-noble of Henry VIII (revision of 1580) (Trustees of the British Museum).

Fleetwood gave an account of English money in his *Chronicon Preciosum* of 1707. This was republished with plates in 1745.²⁰ The first fully-fledged monograph devoted to English coins, however, was published by Stephen Martin Leake, eventually Garter Principal King of Arms, in 1726, under the title *Nummi Britannici Historia*. This work included eight plates, with six more added cumulatively to the enlarged 1745 and 1793 editions (Pl. 19.3).²¹ The longevity of Leake's book is symptomatic of the halting progress made in British numismatic studies during the eighteenth century.

The effort required to produce engravings undoubtedly impeded such progress and, as Leake's work exemplifies, the inherent inflexibility of engraved plates resulted in the addition of further plates in the subsequent editions of illustrated works. This led not only to frequent re-use of engravings, but also stylistic variation and loss of a logical, chronological sequence. It could even lead to additional coins being engraved on existing plates, where space allowed.²² An extraordinary example of the consequent lifespan of engravings comes from two other important monographs from the eighteenth century: Martin Folkes's *Table of English Gold Coins* (1736),²³ and *Silver Coins* (1745).²⁴ These works were not illustrated but Folkes had employed George Vertue and Francis Perry to prepare a series of engravings and these, with significant additions, were eventually published with a reprint of the works, under the aegis of the Society of Antiquaries of London, in 1763.²⁵ The plates, amongst others specially commissioned, were again used by Ruding when he published his *Annals* in 1817 and retained in the posthumous edition of 1840.²⁶ In the following century individual images were selected by Seaby when they introduced their *Standard Catalogue of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*

²⁰ Fleetwood 1707 (published anonymously), 1745 (republished with plates); Ruding 1840, I, viii; Manville 2009, 97.

²¹ Leake 1726, 1745 (Pl. 19.3 = second series, Pl. V); Ruding 1840, I, viii; Manville 2009, 160.

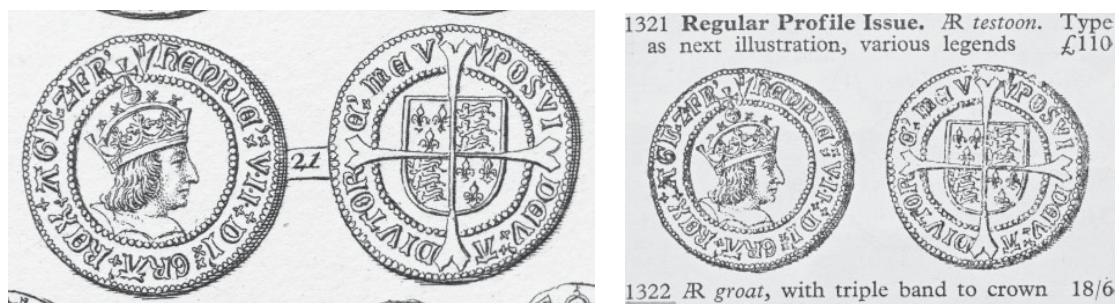
²² See n.25 below.

²³ Folkes 1736.

²⁴ Folkes 1745.

²⁵ Folkes 1763. See Pagan 2003, 158–63. Only four plates in 1763 were signed with Vertue's monogram, compared with nineteen signed 'F. Perry'. Hugh Pagan has, however, pointed out to the author that a number of the original Vertue plates were modified by adding further coins in the course of which his monogram was obliterated.

²⁶ Ruding 1840, I, xix; Manville 2009, 246.



Figs 6–7. Groat of Henry VII from Ruding's *Annals* (1840) (left) and Seaby's *Standard Catalogue* (1952) (right).

after the Second World War. Figs 6–7 show a groat of Henry VII, taken from the 1840 edition of Ruding,²⁷ and the same image from the 1952 edition of the *Standard Catalogue*.²⁸

Seaby also plundered heavily from other sets of plates in Ruding. Figs 8–9 show a First Hand type of Æthelred II engraved for the 1817 edition,²⁹ as used by Seaby.³⁰ The contrasting style of these two sets of images is very pronounced. The hatched shadow to the right of the First Hand illustrations is a praiseworthy if ineffectual attempt to suggest a three-dimensional effect. In fact, the elimination of shadow can be counted as one of the strengths of line engraving, the difficulty in portraying relief by no means being limited to this mode of illustration. Some engravers adopted a hatched background but this tends to diminish the clarity of the image (Fig. 10).³¹



Figs 8–9. Æthelred II, First Hand type, from Ruding's *Annals* (1817) (left) and Seaby's *Standard Catalogue* (1952) (right).

Following upon Leake the most important and extensive series of coin illustrations, with accompanying commentaries, were issued by Thomas Snelling, a highly energetic publisher, bookseller, numismatist and coin and medal dealer, who died in 1773. The series began with *A View of the Silver Coins and Coinage of England* in 1762, and was followed by English gold (1763), copper, including tokens (1766), miscellaneous coins and counterfeits (1769), jetons and counters (1769), culminating posthumously with Scottish coins (1774) and English medals (1776).³² As in other eighteenth-century works, more than one hand contributed to the variable engravings. Snelling used Frances Perry, as had Folkes, besides Charles Hall, the medallist John (or James) Kirk and others.³³ Many of the plates were unsigned, although often clearly attributable. Snelling appears to have offered his plates for sale separately as well as in bound form (Fig. 11).

²⁷ Ruding 1840, III, Plate VI, 17.

²⁸ Seaby 1952, 41 (1322).

²⁹ Ruding 1840, III, Plate 22, 12.

³⁰ Seaby 1952, 21 (554).

³¹ Taken from a proof plate to James Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum & Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus...*, edited and published in sheet form by Thomas Ruddiman in 1739, amongst the papers of Sarah Sophia Banks at the Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant; Manville 2009, 7, 246.

³² Manville 2009, 268.

³³ Manville 2009, 120, 153, 218–9. The first plate in *English Medals* (Snelling 1776) is signed 'Jas Kirk'.



Fig. 10. Part of a proof plate from Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum...* (1739) (Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant).



Fig. 11. Extract from Snelling (1762), Pl. 14 (Peter Woodhead).

It is easy to appear critical that greater efforts were not made in terms of coin illustration in the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century. However, the existing plates were doubtless considered perfectly adequate for the state of numismatic studies at the time and many of them have an enduring charm and artistic interest beyond their numismatic content. These images served the purpose of showing the main designs to be identified within any series. The detailed classifications and die studies with which we are familiar today were the result of being able to study large numbers of coins from a given series, for which purpose the availability of photographic images was a major contributory factor from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

Accuracy of reproduction

The Achilles heel of engraving was, of course, uncertainty about the extent to which the draughtsman and/or engraver was reproducing the coin faithfully. This *caveat* applies equally to later photographic methods of reproduction where the coins illustrated have been drawn from life. In 1984 my late friend and benefactor to the Society, Roy Osborne, published in the *BNJ* an article on the Tower coins of Charles I (Pl. 19.4).³⁴ Because coins of the reign are often worn and flat in places, many of his drawings were created from photographs of more than one specimen, raising the question whether the dies used to strike the examples chosen were assuredly identical.

³⁴ Osborne 1984, 166.

There are plenty of examples amongst engraved plates where accuracy is immediately suspect (**Pl. 20.1**).³⁵ But there are also examples which tend to inspire confidence. Apart from the occasional difficulty in construing inscriptions and thus recording them accurately, the relatively simple designs and low relief of Anglo-Saxon and early medieval coinage in England are very amenable to linear reproduction. For example, in Richard Gough's publication on the coins of Cnut in 1777, he engraved (or had engraved) 42 Cnut Short Cross reverses (**Pl. 20.2**).³⁶ The coins found their way to the trays of the British Museum where there is no difficulty in matching the images to the coins. In spite of this example, die study from engraved coins is generally a hazardous undertaking.

Where an engraving is taken from a known coin the degree of accuracy may be precisely judged. Nicholas Holmes has kindly provided me with examples from James Sutherland's collection, now in Edinburgh.³⁷ Unique coins from that collection were reproduced both in Adam de Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotiae* (1786),³⁸ and in John Lindsay's *A View of the Coinage of Scotland* (1845).³⁹ Fig. 12 shows the gold striking of a groat of James V and how this piece was illustrated by Cardonnel (above) and by Lindsay (below). Both representations have defects, but that of Cardonnel especially so. Another entirely different pitfall of identification may arise in early numismatic works: it is not always certain if the illustration of the coin referred to in the text is indeed of that coin or merely representative of the type.



Fig. 12. Gold striking of a groat of James V (centre), with illustrations by Cardonnel (above) and Lindsay (below) (National Museums of Scotland).

³⁵ Herbert (undated).

³⁶ Gough 1777. Annotations on **Pl. 20.2** are in the author's hand.

³⁷ Manville 2009, 279.

³⁸ Cardonnel 1786, Plate II, 4.

³⁹ Lindsay 1845, Pl. 18, 38.

The challenge of faithfulness to nature inevitably increases with the greater complexity of coin design from the fourteenth century onwards. One curious feature encountered is that although inscriptions and other elements in the design – such as mint-marks – are creditably handled, there is an almost irresistible urge to humanise facial features. Two examples are shown here (Fig. 13, Pl. 21.1).⁴⁰ The treatment of eyes, mouth and hair are enhanced, and the use of stippling suggests a degree of relief in the image which is not present in the coins. Another facet of engraving is whether the illustration is, or is intended to be shown life size or not. The Revd Walsh in his *Essay on some Ancient Coins, Medals and Gems* of 1828 indicated the actual size of the coin alongside its enlarged image (Fig. 14).⁴¹



Fig. 13. Extract from Vertue (1753), Pl. XIV (Douglas Saville).



Fig. 14. Extract from Walsh (1828), opposite p. 87 (Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant).

⁴⁰ Vertue 1753, Pl. XIV (Fig. 13); Ruding 1840, Pl. VII (Pl. 21.1).

⁴¹ Walsh 1828, opp. 87.

One method of copying accurately the surface design of a coin as a single image was to take a rubbing. This was normally done by using fine paper and a wax or soft lead pencil.⁴² When James Wise recorded his collection in 1744 he inserted rubbings into his manuscript catalogue. He thereby captured the appearance of coins formerly owned by Cotton, who had died in 1631.⁴³ PI. 21.2 shows an example.⁴⁴ The minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London record that the impressions were made by the Revd George North, using a screw press devised by the scientist, Henry Baker. The device was illustrated in the Society's minutes for 19 April 1744.⁴⁵ It consisted of a shallow strip of wood inset with two upright threaded spindles and a matching strip designed to wind downwards onto the first, using wing nuts. Its use on fragile coins must have been a risky exercise.

The practice of taking rubbings appears to have largely fallen into disuse, probably because, unlike photography, it can be invasive. When a little grandson of a friend recently sought my comments on his centenionalis of Constantius Gallus he properly relied upon his freehand artistic skills (Fig. 15).⁴⁶



Fig. 15. Centenionalis of Constantius Gallus (Ben Jones).

Conclusion

I said I would conclude the first part of my address with the third edition of Ruding's *Annals* published in 1840. His work, culminating in this posthumous edition, took British numismatics to an altogether higher plane. Within a short time the world of numismatics was further changed by another major development: the invention of photography. The continuing impact of that invention will form the subject matter of next year's address.

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⁴² Various other methods of taking impressions of coins are dealt with in Welter 1976, 76–84. Stewart Lyon used to use carbon paper to make impressions of Anglo-Saxon stycas (see Lyon 1956, 236).

⁴³ Archibald 2006, 182, 185.

⁴⁴ MS in papers of Sarah Sophia Banks at the Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant.

⁴⁵ Society of Antiquaries of London, minutes for 19 April and 8 November 1744. Hugh Pagan generously drew the author's attention to these minutes.

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

A BIRMINGHAM MISCELLANY (2)

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THIS paper presents a second selection of Birmingham-related pieces with an eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century focus.

1. Thomas Birch, Surgeon and Man-Midwife of Birmingham

While examining some eighteenth-century medals in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery collection some time ago, I ran across a rather worn specimen of this medal and my curiosity was piqued. A check on the main published works on medical numismatics soon revealed that nothing seemed to be known of Thomas Birch, and even the date of the medal was uncertain.¹ Only Eimer offered a possible date (*c.*1745, presumably on the basis of the clothing worn by the figures depicted) and suggested that the medal might have functioned as either an advertising piece or an entrance pass (although he did not suggest to what).² Intrigued, I decided to see if it might be possible to find out a little more.

Fortunately there is a much better-preserved example of the medal in the British Museum (registration no. M.6744), which was acquired in 1860 as part of the Edward Hawkins collection. It is illustrated here as Fig. 1.³ It shows:

Obv. THOMAS · BIRCH · SURGEON

An amputation scene, with the patient apparently sat in a sloping-backed chair as the surgeon (presumably representing Birch) uses a saw to remove his right leg a little below the knee. While the surgeon works, one assistant kneels on one knee and grasps the patient's ankle, while another holds his knee still.

Rev. AND · MAN · MIDWIFE · BIRMINGHAM

A man (again presumably intended to represent Birch) reclines against a table at the left of the scene, resting his right hand on a skull and using a pointer in his left to gesture towards a figure standing on a low, circular plinth. This figure is naked and bald, and appears to be an *ecorché*, an anatomical model of a skinless human body, used to show the structure of the musculature below. The figure's right foot rests on a globe or orb, its right arm is raised, and its left hand rests on the top of a club (or possibly a rudder).⁴ In the foreground, just in front of the plinth, is a naked baby, with umbilical cord and placenta still attached, laying on what at first sight seems to be a cushion with a placenta-like tassel at one corner. However, closer examination suggests that it actually represents a model of a foetus in a uterus, presumably used for teaching or lecturing in the same way as the large figure seems to be.

Of lower status than university-trained doctors,⁵ surgeons were apprenticed to learn their trade, and we duly find that on 5 September 1729 Thomas, son of Thomas Birch of King's

Acknowledgements. I have noted below in each of the following sections the help that I have received on that particular aspect. However, I must record here my grateful thanks to the staff of Birmingham Archives and Heritage for their generous help and advice, which have been essential to the whole of this paper.

¹ Holzmair 1937, 367 no. 5493, and Storer 1931, 89 no. 376, give only very brief descriptions of the medal and offer no background information at all.

² Eimer 1987, 87 no. 603, pl. 18.

³ The medal is reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum; I am grateful to Philip Attwood for information on the medal and for help in obtaining the image. The Birmingham specimen is accession no. 1954 N 617. There is a third example of this medal in the Wellcome Collection at the Science Museum, London, accession no. A677207. I would also like to thank Chris Ash of the Science Library, Birmingham Libraries; Stephen Price; Dr Robert Arnott and Dr Jonathan Reinarz of the University of Birmingham; Donal Bateson; and Robert Thompson for help during my research on the Thomas Birch medal.

⁴ If it is holding a club, is the figure intended to represent Hercules, or is the resemblance purely coincidental?

⁵ 'The physicians differed in every respect from the surgeon-apothecaries: as university men, entitled to be called 'Doctor', untainted by the 'manual' aspects of surgery, midwifery, or pharmacy, they provided professional advice for fees to patients who were usually the more prosperous members of their communities.' (Lane 1984, 354).



Fig. 1. Medal of Thomas Birch, surgeon and man-midwife (diameter 38 mm). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Norton, was apprenticed for five years to Joseph Higgs of Birmingham, surgeon, at a premium of £100. (Higgs paid the required tax on the premium on 4 March 1730.)⁶ Birch was probably a member of a well-known and prosperous King's Norton family which at this time owned parts of the Saracen's Head, a magnificent late-medieval building complex made famous by winning the second series of BBC2's *Restoration* programme in 2004.⁷

Birch's master, Joseph Higgs, was the son of John Higgs, Gent., of Evesham, and had himself been apprenticed (for seven years in 1716) to John Baglis, apothecary, of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, meaning that he can only have been in practice on his own account for about six years when he took Birch on as his first apprentice.⁸ Higgs's entry in *Eighteenth Century Medics* suggests that he was born in 1702, which means that he would have entered on his apprenticeship at about the age of fourteen.⁹ If this is typical, then this would place Thomas Birch's birth somewhere around 1715, and make him around nineteen when he probably set himself up as a surgeon on his own account, after he completed his apprenticeship.

The newly-qualified surgeon established himself in the Digbeth area, a distinctly less fashionable part of the town, where he appears assessed at 4d. in the first surviving Poor Levy of 1736.¹⁰ His former master, Joseph Higgs, and another fellow-surgeon, Edmund Hector (Dr Johnson's friend and later Matthew Boulton's surgeon), both appear in the more up-market Bull Street Quarter, assessed for 1s. and 6d. respectively. Interestingly both are listed as 'Dr', a title to which neither was entitled, but which presumably says something about the improving status of surgeons at this time, as their anatomical and scientific knowledge increased.¹¹ 'Dr' Hector was also assessed for 1s. 2d. for property in the New Street Quarter.¹²

⁶ Smith 1975, 15 no. 226. The agreement is also noted in Wallis and Wallis 1988, 53, although the dates there differ slightly from those in Smith, giving the date of the indenture as 29 September 1729 and for the payment of the duty as 10 March 1730. King's Norton, now a suburb of Birmingham, was in the eighteenth century a prosperous village in Worcestershire (not Warwickshire as in Wallis and Wallis). A premium was a one-off payment made by the apprentice's family to the master for providing the agreed training.

⁷ The property was bought by Revd John Birch, vicar of King's Norton, in 1708. The family sold it on in 1764 (Demidowicz and Price 2009, 179–80).

⁸ Wallis and Wallis 1988, 287. Higgs took on three other apprentices – William Waldren, in 1731 for three years, at a premium of £84; John Hodgette, in 1742 for seven years, at £105; and John Barker, in 1745 for four years, at £50 (Wallis and Wallis 1988, 287). The variation in lengths of indenture and premiums paid is typical of such agreements at this period.

⁹ Wallis and Wallis 1988, 287.

¹⁰ Birmingham Archives and Heritage, *Parish of Birmingham Levy Book, Vol. I, 1736–45*, 1r [hereafter, *Levy Book I*]. The identification is certain since this is the only Thomas Birch recorded in the town. It was the responsibility of each parish to support those residents who were too old or infirm to support themselves. Each ratepayer was therefore assessed at a specific amount and the Overseers of the Poor would levy this amount whenever funds were required for the running of the relief system. In a town like Birmingham, there were regularly several levies during the course of each year.

¹¹ *Levy Book I*, 8r and 11r.

¹² *Levy Book I*, 11v.

The assessment on Birch's property in Digbeth rose to 5d. in 1737 and apparently remained at this figure until 1746.¹³ There are indications from the Poor Levy that his business must have been prospering since by 1742 'Dr' Birch was also being assessed at 10d. for property in the New Street Quarter.¹⁴ However, 3 June 1746 is Birch's final appearance in the Poor Levy. Had something happened to him? Had he left town? Sadly the answer can be found in the burial register of St Martin's church, where, on 16 December 1746, a single line entry records the burial of 'Thomas, son of Thomas Birch'.¹⁵ If our estimate of his possible date of birth is correct, then he will have died at about the age of thirty-one, after practising as a surgeon for some twelve years. We can now, however, put a date on his medal, which must have been produced sometime between the end of his apprenticeship in September 1734 and his death in December 1746.

Why did Birch issue his medal? Although it is difficult to give exact figures from Wallis and Wallis due to the nature of the entries, it is clear that at least seven other surgeons were active in Birmingham at one time or another during the period 1730–50, and it is likely that this number understates the actual situation.¹⁶ The field may have seemed crowded and Birch may have issued the medal for advertising purposes.¹⁷ If so, it seems to have been an original idea, as I know of no precedents for it. Alternatively, and the image on the reverse of the medal does suggest this, Birch may have engaged, or planned to engage, in some sort of teaching or public lecturing, which is presumably why Eimer suggested that it might be an entrance pass of some sort. However, I have not yet found any positive evidence in support of this.

It is apparent from the prominence that Birch gave on his medal to his role as a man-midwife that he attached considerable importance to this aspect of his work, but what exactly was the function of the man-midwife in his day? In fact Birch lived at a time when the part played by men in the process of childbirth was going through a rapid change. In the seventeenth century and earlier, male surgeons included attendance at childbirth among their other routine tasks such as letting blood, setting bones, treating wounds and pulling teeth. However, midwifery was a female role and the vast majority of children were delivered by a midwife without the help of a surgeon. Surgeons were usually only called to attend difficult births, which the midwife could not deal with. Often the labour had already lasted for several days and the child had already died, in which case the surgeon's role was to save the mother. (Even if the child had not died, the surgeon was sometimes forced to kill it so that it could be removed from the uterus, since the instruments available to him allowed for no other course.) So, the long-established pattern was that midwives dealt with live births, while the surgeon dealt with death.¹⁸

A change came with the spread in knowledge about medical forceps, which gave a much greater chance of delivering the child alive in difficult births. Forceps had been invented in the early seventeenth century by the Chamberlen family, Huguenot refugees who had settled in London, but they kept them a secret throughout the century. Awareness of forceps gradually spread in the early years of the eighteenth century, but it was not until 1733 that information

¹³ *Levy Book I, passim; Parish of Birmingham Levy Book, Vol. II, 1745–51*, assessments for 1745 and June 1746 [hereafter *Levy Book II*]. (The space for the figure is blank in the 1738 assessment, while the start of the 1745 assessment, which included the pages for the Digbeth Quarter, is missing.)

¹⁴ *Levy Book I*, assessment of 20 June 1742 (pages in the book are not numbered from the 1741 assessment onwards). It seems that Birch had taken the property over by 1740, as 'Mr Birch' pays 10d. for what appears to be the same property in the assessment of 26 May 1740, but he does not acquire the title 'Dr' until the 1742 assessment.

¹⁵ Birmingham Archives and Heritage, *St Martin's Register of Christenings, Marriages and Burials*, 1735 onwards. Although this might look like the burial record of a child, most of the entries in the St Martin's register for the period are in this format.

¹⁶ Wallis and Wallis 1988: the certain examples are – p. 280, Edmund Hector; p. 287, Joseph Higgs (Birch's master); p. 296, Henry Hollier; p. 325, John Jennings; p. 335, Edward Jordan; p. 376, Humphrey Lowe; and p. 439, Thomas Nuttall.

¹⁷ The population of Birmingham in the first half of the eighteenth century is subject to some debate. William Westley's 1731 plan of Birmingham gives the population in 1700 as 15,032 and claims that it had risen by 8,254 by 1731, making a total of 23,286 (Westley's plan is reproduced in Mason 2009, 123). However, Samuel Bradford's plan of Birmingham (published on 29 April 1751) records a total population for the town of 23,688, an increase of only 402, which is an unbelievably low figure, since Birmingham was growing rapidly at this period (the figures from Bradford's plan are conveniently given in Bunce 1878, 39–41). Recent work suggests more credible figures of c. 7–8,000 in 1700, c. 15,000 in 1731, and 23,000 in 1751 (Jones 2009, 20).

¹⁸ Wilson 1995, 47–53. For examples of the activity of the seventeenth-century surgeon in the childbirth room, see Dunn 1997.

on their use and design first appeared in print. This was followed by a surge of new publications about midwifery in the mid-1730s.¹⁹ All this was happening, of course, at just the time when Birch was completing his apprenticeship (September 1734) and setting up in practice in Birmingham.

The increasing availability of forceps, to some extent in the 1720s, but especially from the mid-1730s, meant that surgeons like Thomas Birch could now attend difficult births and safely deliver children who would previously have died. As their newfound ability became more widely known, they were summoned earlier and not just as a last resort. An earlier summons meant that they were still more likely to save the child, so a virtuous circle developed and it soon became expected that the surgeon would save both mother and child. By the mid-1740s practitioners like Birch were playing a much greater role in childbirth and were being called man-midwives.²⁰ However, female midwives still dominated the process of ‘normal’ childbirth and it is likely that Birch would still only have been summoned if complications developed. His medal was probably intended to be read in this context, advertising his ability to deliver a live baby when problems arose, in a way that his predecessors had been unable to do. Birch was dead before the really dramatic shift in roles began around 1750, when the man-midwife started to attend childbirth *instead of* the midwife, a change which accelerated over the next two decades, and led to a dramatic decline in the role and importance of the midwife.²¹

2. The 1774 ‘Birmingham Theatre’ pass revisited

In volume 76 of this journal I published an article discussing two specimens of the 1774 pass for the New Street Theatre, Birmingham, each engraved with the name of one of the original twenty-eight shareholders (‘Proprietors’) who invested in the construction and operation of the theatre.²² Since then I have been actively looking for further examples in the hope that they might shed some light on why this pass was produced in both silver and copper, and whether there might be any significance in the fact that on the silver pass the engraved user’s name was followed by an apostrophe ‘s’, while on the copper pass it was not. (In my original article I tentatively floated the possibility that silver passes might have belonged to and been used by the Proprietors named on them, while they may have handed out the copper ones as free passes to their friends.)²³ Unfortunately, enquiries at a number of United Kingdom museums produced only two specimens in the British Museum (one of them unnamed),²⁴ while an appeal for further specimens through the pages of the *Numismatic Circular* produced no results at all.²⁵ However, another two named and one unnamed examples have been brought to my attention separately and it seems worth considering all these new specimens here to see if they can cast any light on these questions. The new pieces are:

1. Silver, named for ‘M^r. Aris’. Collection of Richard Doty, Washington DC, USA; bought in 1993 from David Miller, Hemel Hempstead (Fig. 2).²⁶
2. Copper, named for Mrs Baskerville (the exact form of the name as it appears on the pass has not been confirmed). Museum Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.²⁷

¹⁹ Wilson 1995, 3, 53–7, and 109–10. The first description was in Edmund Chapman’s *Essay towards the Improvement of Midwifery*. Two more publications had appeared by early 1734.

²⁰ Wilson 1995, 96–7 and 161.

²¹ Wilson 1995, 161 and 164–5.

²² Symons 2006. The passes described there were named for two Birmingham merchants, Thomas Faulconbridge and Joseph Green.

²³ Symons 2006, 321. The silver pass on which the Proprietor’s name was given an apostrophe ‘s’ belonged to Joseph Green.

²⁴ I am grateful to colleagues in the Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam, and Hunterian Museums, the National Museums of Scotland and Wales, the Theatre Collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Royal Shakespeare Company collection for checking their holdings on my behalf.

²⁵ Symons 2008.

²⁶ I am grateful to Dr Doty for providing information on his medal and for generously supplying the images reproduced here.

²⁷ I am grateful to John Sharples, curator emeritus, for bringing the pass to my attention and supplying details.

3. Copper, named for 'M^r. Gaunt'. British Museum, registration number SSB, 213.160; acquired by the British Museum from the Sarah Sophia Banks collection in 1818; given to Miss Banks by Mrs Gaunt on 10 May 1799.²⁸
4. Copper, unnamed. British Museum, registration number J.3043; from the collection of Edward Hawkins, 1860.
5. Copper, unnamed. Dix Noonan Webb auction, 7 October 2009, lot 606 (first item).²⁹

The three individuals named on these new medals can all be identified and are each of some interest. 'M^r. Aris' is Samuel Aris, one of the Proprietors of the theatre and co-owner of the local newspaper, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, a weekly that appeared each Monday. This had been founded by his uncle, Thomas Aris, a London stationer and printer, who moved to Birmingham and issued the first edition of the paper on 16 November 1741.³⁰ Thomas retired from the business at the end of 1760, only to die shortly after.³¹ He was succeeded by a partnership of Samuel Aris, his nephew, and Richard Pearson, his brother-in-law, which lasted until Richard's death in 1768, when his share of the business was inherited by his widow Ann, Thomas's sister.³² Samuel died in his turn in January 1775,³³ whereupon Ann Pearson went into partnership with James Rollason, publishing as Pearson and Rollason.³⁴



Fig. 2. 'Birmingham Theatre' pass, 1774, struck in silver (diameter 32 mm).

Samuel Aris's connection with the New Street Theatre was quite short-lived, and can be quickly told. He was one of the original Proprietors of the theatre, holding one of the thirty shares. He attended the meeting held at the Swan Inn on 16 August 1773 when the decision to build the playhouse was taken,³⁵ and continued to attend meetings of the Proprietors quite

²⁸ I am grateful to Catherine Eagleton, who kindly supplied information on this and the following specimen. The details on provenance derive from her ongoing research on the collection of Sarah Sophia Banks. For the distribution of Sarah Sophia Banks's collection after her death, see Eaglen 2008, 207–8.

²⁹ Peter Preston-Morley kindly brought this piece to my attention.

³⁰ The paper originally appeared as *The Birmingham Gazette; or, The General Correspondent* with a cover price of 1½d. (Nichols 1815, 572 sub p. 714). The *Gazette* was not Birmingham's first newspaper. It had been preceded by Thomas Warren's *Birmingham Journal*, first issued in 1732, for which Dr Johnson used to write during his residence in Birmingham in 1733–4. It is not known when the *Journal* ceased publication, but it was certainly before 1741 (Stephens 1964, 210).

³¹ ABG, 6 July 1761: 'On Saturday Night died, at his House at Holloway Head, where he had retired from Business but a short Time, Mr. Thomas Aris, the late Printer of this Paper.'

³² The family relationships are confirmed by the obituary of Thomas's nephew, Dr Richard Pearson (*The Gentleman's Magazine* 159 (1836), 358–61 at p. 358).

³³ ABG, 9 January 1775: 'Early Yesterday Morning died in a Apoplectic Fit; Mr. Samuel Aris, Printer of this Paper.'

³⁴ Horden 1993, 15.

³⁵ *List of Proprietors for Building a Playhouse in New Street, Birmingham with Minutes of their Meetings*, Birmingham Archives and Heritage, Lee Crowder collection 387, 3r [hereafter *Minute Book*].

regularly until 1 June 1774, which is the last time his presence is recorded.³⁶ There is then a lacuna in the record of meetings from 1 July 1774 until 13 June 1776, by which time he was of course dead (see above). The Minute Book contains a list of the Proprietors which must reflect the situation in May 1774, with amendments up to 1 February 1777, and this includes the entry ‘S. Aris, now Pearson’,³⁷ and indeed we duly find Ann Pearson (represented by a proxy) as one of the Proprietors at the 1 February meeting, held in the Green Room at the theatre.³⁸

In addition to publishing the newspaper, Samuel Aris was active in various aspects of Birmingham life. He was a member of the Bean Club, a long-established dining club with Tory leanings, which provided a channel for Birmingham manufacturers and merchants to associate with local landowners. In 1773 he joined the Board of Commission charged with improving Birmingham’s streets (often popularly referred to as the Street Commission or the Lamp Act Commission). He was also an investor in the Birmingham Canal, which first connected Birmingham to the growing canal network.³⁹

‘Mrs Baskerville’ is Sarah Baskerville, the wife (but soon to be widow) of John Baskerville, the famous Birmingham printer. Baskerville was born near Kidderminster, Worcestershire, in late 1706 or January 1707 and came to Birmingham in the 1720s. Initially he set up a writing school, but in 1738, using money inherited from his father, he established a japanning business, before branching out into the printing and type-casting for which he became best known. A man of strong views, he refused to bow to convention and was a convinced atheist, when such opinions were not common or popular.⁴⁰

Sarah was born Sarah Ruston, a member of a family resident in the Deritend area of Birmingham.⁴¹ On 17 August 1724, at the age of 16, she married one Richard Eaves, but, despite the birth of five children, the marriage was not a success and Eaves deserted her. They were legally separated in 1745.⁴² Three years later, she (and her children) moved in with Baskerville and, defying convention, the two lived together as husband and wife for sixteen years, until they were finally able to marry in 1764, after Richard Eaves died.⁴³ Baskerville himself died on 16 January 1775, some seven months after the New Street Theatre opened.⁴⁴ Sarah outlived him by thirteen years, dying on 21 March 1788.⁴⁵ John and Sarah had no children of their own, so the pass cannot have belonged to a daughter-in-law and must therefore be attributed to Sarah herself. So far as I have been able to ascertain, neither John nor Sarah Baskerville ever owned one of the shares in the New Street Theatre.

‘M’. Gaunt’ is the Reverend Dr John Gaunt. Born in Rowley Regis, Staffordshire, he was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, receiving his BA in 1760, his MA in 1762 and his DD in 1792.⁴⁶ On 22 March 1771 he was appointed by the Governors of the King Edward School, Birmingham to the post of Usher at the school (also often called the Free Grammar School), which was situated in New Street in a building constructed in 1731–4:

³⁶ *Minute Book*, 5r.

³⁷ *Minute Book*, 1r.

³⁸ *Minute Book*, 6v.

³⁹ Tungate 2003, 11 and Tables 1, 3 and 4; Symons 2006, 315. Matthew Boulton was also an investor in the Birmingham Canal. The canals made a vital contribution to Birmingham’s development by enabling much larger and heavier goods to be made and shipped to customers, allowing the town’s manufacturers to branch out from the traditional ‘toys’ and other comparatively small-size, lightweight goods. Without the canals to move its 370 lb barrels of coins, the Soho Mint would have been inconceivable.

⁴⁰ Pardoe 1975, 1–2; Uglov 2002, 22–3.

⁴¹ Bennett 1937, 49. In time Sarah’s three brothers all ran businesses in Deritend – the eldest, Jonathan Ruston, sold saddle-trees, Joseph was an innkeeper, and Josiah, the youngest, was a merchant (Bennett 1937, 62).

⁴² Richard Eaves appears to have been a particularly dubious character. Among other things it was proved that he forged a new will in the name of his dead brother, Robert, cutting out a number of legacies that were in the genuine will and leaving everything to himself. He also took out fraudulent mortgages. Eaves in his turn accused Sarah of adultery with one John Southam (Bennett 1937, 58–9).

⁴³ Pardoe 1975, 12, 14; Bennett 1937, 62–3. *ABG*, 4 June 1764: ‘On Friday last Mr. Baskerville, of this Town, was married to Mrs. Eaves, Widow of the late Richard Eaves, Esq; deceased.’

⁴⁴ *ABG*, 23 January 1775: ‘DIED.] On Monday last, at Easy Hill in this Town, Mr. John Baskerville; whose Memory will be perpetuated, by the Beauty and Elegance of his Printing, which he carried to a very great Perfection.’

⁴⁵ *ABG*, 24 March 1788: ‘DIED.] On Friday, at her house on Easy Hill, near this town, Mrs. Baskerville, relict of the late Mr. John Baskerville, so justly celebrated for his beautiful types, and other elegant improvements in the art of printing.’

⁴⁶ Chatwin 1963, 12 n.1.

the Reverend M^r John Gaunt of Birmingham ... to be Usher of the same School in the Room of and to succeed the Reverend M^r Thomas Warden lately deceased for which place or Office the said M^r John Gaunt is to receive yearly from Ladyday next the said Asher's [sic] salary as settled and confirmed by one or more Decree or Decrees of the Court of Chancery ...⁴⁷

Also known as the Second Master, the Usher oversaw the daily routine while the Chief Master taught and ran the school. Gaunt's salary for the post was £60 *per annum*.⁴⁸ At their meeting on 3 January 1772 the Governors agreed that Gaunt could continue to hold a Lectureship (an assistant curateship) at St Martin's church in tandem with his post at the school:

the Reverend M^r Gaunt second Master of the said School have Leave to hold on the Lectureship of Saint Martin's in Birmingham aforesaid on Condition that he procures a person to do the Week of Duty of reading Prayers of the said parish of Saint Martin's as he has this Day proposed to us.⁴⁹

Gaunt resigned as the King Edward School Usher in 1787 to become Rector of Higham-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, a post he retained until he died in London in March 1797.⁵⁰ (Given this later connection with the parish, it is tempting to suggest that he might have been the John Gaunt who married one Elizabeth Dyer at Higham on 29 December 1774, and that his bride may have come from the parish, or had family links to it, although this needs further investigation.)⁵¹

Like Samuel Aris, John Gaunt was one of the original Proprietors of the theatre, also holding one share, and he too was present at the meeting on 16 August 1773 when construction of the playhouse was agreed.⁵² Gaunt was a rather less diligent attendee at meetings over the following year than Aris, but he was present at the meeting on 1 February 1777, when he ('Mr. John Gaunt') was elected a member of the five-man Management Committee for the theatre, along with Matthew Boulton and Thomas Faulconbridge and two others.⁵³ However, something unforeseen must have intervened because, at the next meeting, on 25 February 1777, it was recorded that 'Rev. & Mrs Gaunt' had sold their share to James Rollason and that there was therefore a vacancy on the Management Committee (which was filled by Richard Goolden).⁵⁴

As Table 1 makes clear, there still seems to be no obvious pattern behind the existence of silver and copper versions of the pass. Also, the fact that we now have silver specimens both with and without an apostrophe 's', and have a copper specimen named for someone who was never a Proprietor, clearly renders untenable the hypothesis that silver passes belonged to the Proprietors themselves, while they had copper ones engraved with their names to give out as free tickets. Further specimens are clearly needed.⁵⁵

TABLE 1. Known 'Birmingham Theatre 1774' passes, with the names shown as engraved (where known)

	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Copper</i>
<i>Named for Proprietors</i>	Jos. ^h Green's M ^r . Aris	M ^r . Faulconbridge M ^r . Gaunt
<i>Named for Non-Proprietors</i>	—	'Mrs Baskerville'

⁴⁷ Chatwin 1963, 12.

⁴⁸ Trott 1992, 39; Chatwin 1963, 14. The Chief Master received £88 15s. and the other teachers between £20 and £40 a year. During Gaunt's time as Usher, the Chief Masters were John Brailsford, former headmaster of the grammar school in Sutton Coldfield, (1766-75) and Thomas Price, formerly headmaster at Lichfield (1776-97) (Hutton 1952, 74-5).

⁴⁹ Chatwin 1963, 15.

⁵⁰ Chatwin 1963, 64: Gaunt's resignation was reported to the Governors at their meeting of 26 January 1787, to take effect from the following Lady Day (25 March). His death is noted in *ABG*, 3 April 1797: 'In London, after a long illness, the Rev. Dr. Gaunt, of Higham, Leicestershire, and formerly second master of King Edward's grammar school in this town.'

⁵¹ IGI index.

⁵² *Minute Book*, 3r.

⁵³ *Minute Book*, 6v-7r.

⁵⁴ *Minute Book*, 7r. The purchaser, James Rollason, was of course, Ann Pearson's new partner in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and the printing business.

⁵⁵ The unnamed passes presumably represent either stock supplied to the theatre, but not used, or extra pieces struck and retained by the manufacturer.

(Since I wrote my original article on these passes some more details have come to light on the career of Thomas Faulconbridge, the primary subject of that paper. These are summarised below, in Appendix 1.)

3. Some approaches made to Matthew Boulton to produce counterfeit coins

This section is an abbreviated version of part of a paper that appeared in the catalogue-with-essays produced by the Barber Institute, University of Birmingham to accompany its exhibition *Matthew Boulton and the Art of Making Money* (May 2009–May 2010).⁵⁶ Despite this earlier publication, it seems appropriate to include this section here in order to place the documents discussed more firmly in the numismatic record and to illustrate some that it was not possible to illustrate in the Barber Institute catalogue. The documents all deal with requests made to Matthew Boulton to supply counterfeit coins or tokens, which is particularly ironic given his long-standing and frequently-expressed opposition to counterfeiting.

The first request was passed on in a letter written to Boulton on 1 November 1794 by his agent in Copenhagen, Andrew Collins (**Pl. 22**):

Sir,
I have got here acquainted with M^r Constantine Brun, a Merchant of respectability, who informs me that some time ago he wrote to you concerning some Portuguese Coins wishing to be inform'd whether you would undertake to make for him gold Johannes's, (I believe they are generally called Joes) whole as well as half Pieces: the whole ones to weigh 7½dwt Penny Weight and he requested your Advice at what rate you would deliver them in London.

M^r Brun has receiv'd no Answer to his Letter, and being in Company with me at a Gent^s. House, & understanding that I am your Agent: he desired me to write to you Sir, on the Subject. I will not pretend to give an Opinion as to the propriety or Impropriety of such an Undertaking: you are certainly best Judge of it. But in either case you will be pleased to give him a Line in answer to his Question, whether or not you can supply him? He talks of wanting from £5 to £10,000 Sterl^g worth pr Annum from inquiries I have made here, I learn that he is a Gentleman of Property – a Merchant who trades chiefly to the West Indies (where, apparently he wishes to diffuse these Joe's; as they are almost the only Currency there) he is known here for a Man of Probity and Character.⁵⁷

There is no trace in the Soho Archives of either Brun's original letter or of a reply from Boulton to Collins, but there is certainly no indication that Soho ever struck such illicit coins.

Brun wanted copies of the Portuguese gold half dobra of 6,400 reis (and its half). Originally struck by John V (1706–50), 'Johannes' on the coins, these were popularly known as 'Joes' in Britain and its American and West Indian colonies, a nickname that became even more appropriate when John V was succeeded by Joseph I (1750–77). Large quantities of these coins were struck using gold from the rich mines at Minas Gerais in Brazil, and they circulated widely in Britain, and came to dominate the gold currency of the Caribbean. Large numbers of lightweight and debased forgeries were struck in Europe and shipped to the West Indies by merchants like Brun.⁵⁸ They became such a nuisance that drastic steps had to be taken. In 1798 the authorities on St Vincent regulated what coins could be used on the island, established minimum weights for them, and decreed the death penalty for anyone guilty of importing or uttering base or lightweight coin in the future. Interestingly the minimum weight specified for a 'single Joe' was 7½ pennyweights (dwt), precisely what Brun had specified for his copies, which was only about 80% of the official weight of a genuine coin (9 dwt 5 grains).⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Symons 2009.

⁵⁷ Letter, Andrew Collins (Copenhagen) to Matthew Boulton, 1 November 1794 (MBP, MS 3782/12/39/298).

⁵⁸ Pridmore 1965, 8–9, and then *passim* for references to lightweight Joes on various islands.

⁵⁹ Pridmore 1965, 319–21. For some further context on this episode, see Vice 1988.

The next request for counterfeits came from much nearer home:

Sir

I have taken the liberty to Inclose you a Medal for w^h I believe 50.000 will be wanted I will thank you first to say if it Conveniant to do them for us and then the price they will cost – I am S^r for [illegible] & Co

y^r Most Ob^t Serv^t

James Braithwaite

Kendal 5th Nov^r 1801.⁶⁰

I can find no trace of Boulton's reply to Braithwaite, but its tenor is clear from an undated memorandum in Boulton's hand (**Pl. 23**). Attached to the top of the sheet are four wax impressions (two obverse, two reverse) of the 'medal' that Braithwaite had sent as a sample. These show that it was actually a Danish billon 12 skilling coin, struck in Copenhagen in 1767 for use in the Danish Virgin Islands. Boulton's memorandum reads

These are Impressions from a piece of base silver Danish Money sent to me by M^r James Braithwaite of Kendal Nov^r 5th 1801 with an order for 50000 pieces which I returned to him & advised him to decline it as it is contrary to y^e Laws of this Kingdom & of Nations.⁶¹

Britain occupied the Danish Virgin Islands in March 1801, following Danish involvement in the Russian-inspired League of Armed Neutrality, which Britain saw as a pro-French movement. They were returned to Denmark in March 1802.⁶² The request for 50,000 counterfeits, made on 5 November 1801, falls squarely within this period of British occupation and gives every impression of having been made by a trading company intent on unscrupulously exploiting the commercial opportunities that had become available. Given the lack of detail in Braithwaite's letter, we cannot say for sure whether the coins ordered would have been lightweight copies, like those wanted by Brun, but this seems likely.

The third approach arrived in 1796 from Dr J. Solomon of Liverpool, who did not want counterfeit foreign coins, but copies of the Druid's head tokens produced by Thomas Williams's Parys Mines Company (**Pl. 24**). Boulton himself had actually struck Parys halfpennies and pennies for Williams over the period 1789-92. Solomon's initial enquiry was as follows:

Sir

I can take 1 Ton per week of the Anglesea penny pieces 18½ or 19 to the lb.

Please to acquaint me with the lowest price for ready money –

I am Sir, very respectfully

Your Obed^t. Serv^t.

J. Solomon

Address

D^r. Solomon

Liverpool

29th. July 1796⁶³

Boulton, while clearly keen to pick up any business that might be available, was uncompromising with regard to the tokens in his reply:

In reply to your fav^r of y^e 29 Ultim^o I can undertake to make any quantity of Copper pieces you can dispose of, in any time you may want them in, & I can make them of a superior quality to the provincial tokens commonly made as mine will be perfectly round & with bright edges & struck in Collers but I cannot Strike any pieces wth the name of (& saying payable by) the Anglesey Co as that would be something like forging a note of Hand, but I can make them with a drewids head & the initials of your name or any other devices you please.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Letter, James Braithwaite (Kendal) to Matthew Boulton, 5 November 1801 (MBP, MS 3782/12/46/352).

⁶¹ Undated memorandum by Matthew Boulton (MBP, MS 3782/12/46/352).

⁶² The islands (St Thomas, St John and St Croix) were sold to the United States in 1916 and are today known as the United States Virgin Islands.

⁶³ Letter, Dr Solomon (Liverpool) to Matthew Boulton, 29 July 1796 (MBP, MS 3782/12/41/231).

⁶⁴ Copy letter, Matthew Boulton to Dr Solomon (Liverpool), 1 August 1796 (MBP, MS 3782/12/41/235).

There was clearly further correspondence which does not appear to survive. It seems that Solomon tried to convince Boulton of the legality of the scheme, but Boulton refused to co-operate. This is apparent from a letter that Boulton wrote to Thomas Williams himself on 15 September 1796. The first page deals with costings for (unspecified) items which Williams had asked Boulton to price. The second page then begins

I have long wished to see you at Soho & to communicate to you sundry letters which I have received from a D^r. Soloman of Liverpool who wanted me to Coin for him exact Copy's of your Anglesey pence and halfpence. He assures me he has taken Councils opinion upon the Legality of it & urged various arguments to induce me to undertake his order but my last letter has silenced him however. I hope you will contrive to dine with me or take your Bed as you go to Town & then I will show you the Correspondence.⁶⁵

Legally Solomon was quite right – counterfeiting tokens was not against the law, since tokens themselves were technically illegal. (A 1672 ban on their production and use was still in force, although it was universally ignored.)⁶⁶ It would have been up to Williams as the token issuer to pursue a case in the civil courts.

4. A silver specimen of the Matthew Boulton ‘Obsequies’ Medal, 1809

Between Matthew Boulton’s death on 17 August 1809 and his funeral on 24 August the Soho Mint produced a simple memorial medal to mark his passing.⁶⁷

Obv. MATTHEW BOULTON / DIED AUGUST 17th 1809 / AGED 81 YEARS.
In three lines across the field, horizontal lines above and below.

Rev. IN / MEMORY / OF HIS / OBSEQUIES / AUGst 24th / 1809.
In six lines, all in a wreath.

Examples struck in copper are well-known, but that specimens had also been struck in silver was unsuspected until one such came to light during the preparations for the exhibition *Matthew Boulton: Selling what all the world desires*, held at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery from May to September 2009 to mark the bicentenary of Boulton’s death. The medal (Fig. 3) was originally brought to my attention by Professor Peter Jones of the University of Birmingham, who also put me in touch with the owner, Mrs Fran Dancyger (née Harper), who kindly loaned the medal for display in the exhibition.⁶⁸ The medal had been passed down in Mrs Dancyger’s father’s family and, according to family tradition, had been given to an ancestor who was one of the Soho workmen who had carried Boulton’s coffin at the funeral (examples being given to the other coffin-bearers as well). It weighs 31.16 g; for comparison, a copper specimen in the Birmingham collection weighs 35.67 g.



Fig. 3. Matthew Boulton ‘Obsequies’ medal, 1809, struck in silver (diameter 40.5 mm).

⁶⁵ Copy letter, Matthew Boulton to Thomas Williams, 15 September 1796 (MBP, MS 3782/2/73/Item 123).

⁶⁶ Selgin 2008, 144. See Dickinson 1986, 5, for the 1672 ban.

⁶⁷ Brown 1980, 163 no. 662; Eimer 1987, 127 no. 1003.

⁶⁸ Mason 2009. The medal appears as no. 388 on p. 230, but was not illustrated in the catalogue. I am grateful to Mrs Dancyger for permission to photograph the medal and to publish it here.

Work by David Vice on the output of the Soho Mint shows that the Soho Archives only record copper medals being struck for presentation to the employees of the Soho Manufactory, Soho Mint and Soho Foundry, and to the principal invited mourners at the funeral.⁶⁹ The total number of medals recorded is as follows:

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Presented to employees of the Plate Company	110	18	128
Presented to employees of the Foundry	135	—	135
Presented to employees of the Engine and Copying Companies	60	3	63
Presented to employees of the Mint, Button Company and Rolling Mill	50	39	89
Presented to various servants, etc.			24
Presented to invited mourners			91
Remaining in hand			2
			532

According to Mr Vice, the original dies for the medal were reserved for Boulton's grandson, Matthew Piers Watt Boulton, at the time of the Soho Mint sale in 1850. This raises the possibility that this medal might actually be a post-Soho restrike, since Mr Vice has shown that many of these restrikes can be attributed to a combination formed by M.P.W. Boulton and W.J. Taylor, the proprietor of a die-sinking business in London.⁷⁰ This does not seem to be likely in this case, however. There are no obvious physical signs that this medal might be a restrike, nor would this sit well with the family tradition that it had been presented to an ancestor in 1809. (Indeed, it is hard to see how or why this tradition should have arisen if the medal was actually a restrike, only acquired much later in the nineteenth century.)

The medals for the principal mourners were distributed at Boulton's home, Soho House, prior to the funeral and became mixed up in the rather unsavoury dispute that arose between Boulton's son, Matthew Robinson Boulton, and the undertaker, Mr Lander. Boulton Junior refused to pay part of Lander's bill, in part because he blamed Lander for the delay in the funeral, which ran about two hours late. For his part, Lander blamed the delay in large part on the distribution of the medals, which were each wrapped and sealed and marked with the recipient's name. According to Lander, presenting each medal individually to the right recipient and instructing them not to open the package until after the funeral service had taken far longer than had been anticipated.⁷¹

The distribution of medals to the Soho workforce took place after the burial, and is recorded in two letters describing the funeral sent to Boulton's old business partner, James Watt, who was in Glasgow when Boulton died.⁷² The first letter was written on 25 August, the day after the funeral, by James Watt Junior, who had represented his father at the ceremony.⁷³ Watt records about 430 men and 60 to 70 women workers forming part of the funeral procession and notes that

After the ceremony, [the workers] retired to the different public houses where refreshment had been provided for them of cold meat, and when each received from M^r. Boulton a jetton with his age & death on one side, and in memory of his obsequies, on the other. After receiving these and drinking the memory of their departed benefactor standing & in silence, they all repaired to their respective homes, and not a Soho man was to be seen upon the road for the remainder of the day.

⁶⁹ It is planned that Mr Vice's study, *A Numismatic History of the Soho Manufactory and Mint, 1772–1850* [hereafter Vice, forthcoming], will be published in due course as one of this society's Special Publications series. I am grateful to him for giving me a copy of his manuscript and for allowing me to refer to his findings here. The following paragraph draws heavily upon his work. The Boulton obsequies medal is Vice, forthcoming, No. 1809/8.

⁷⁰ Vice, forthcoming (see previous note).

⁷¹ This paragraph again follows Mr Vice. Lander eventually had to take Matthew Robinson Boulton to court for his money, Boulton finally paying up on the eve of the trial.

⁷² The text of both letters will be found in Appendix 2.

⁷³ James Watt Junior (Birmingham) to James Watt Senior (Glasgow), 25 August 1809 (James Watt papers, Birmingham Archives and Heritage, MS 3219/4/33/36).

The second letter was written on 29 August by John Furnell Tuffen, a banker and old friend of both Boulton and Watt.⁷⁴ He puts the number of workmen [*sic*] at 500 and then relates how

Cold dinners were provided for the men at all the public houses around; the memory of M^r. Boulton was drank in silence, a bronzed token struck in commemoration of the obsequies, was delivered to each, & by five o'clock every one had departed to his home.

Both letters mention the old workmen who carried Boulton's coffin from Soho House to the church. According to James Watt Junior, the coffin was 'borne by ten of the oldest men (who had been from 30 to 50 years in his [i.e. Boulton's] service), with ten others to relieve', while Tuffen says that it was 'born by 8 of the oldest workmen', with '16 of the ablest bodied workmen ... intended as relays of bearers'. Assuming that silver medals were struck for presentation to all the coffin-bearers, then these descriptions suggest a minimum of eight and a maximum of twenty-four specimens would have been produced for this purpose. It would be interesting to know if any other examples survive. It does seem peculiar that no other examples are recorded as being produced for presentation to some at least of the invited mourners, or indeed for members of the Boulton family, but there is absolutely no evidence for this happening. The lack of mention of silver medals in the Soho Mint records might be explained if these were special pieces, produced as a private commission, their cost perhaps covered directly by Matthew Robinson Boulton. There does seem to be a parallel for this in the 1802 medals struck at Soho for presentation to the members of the Birmingham volunteer units, to mark their disbandment following the Peace of Amiens. There is no trace in the Soho Mint records of this entire issue, and it seems that Matthew Boulton, who had been entrusted with 'the whole direction and Management of the medal' by his fellow-townsmen, produced it as a private commission rather than as a regular Soho order.⁷⁵

APPENDIX 1.

Additional information on the career of Thomas Faulconbridge.

1772: Faulconbridge was clearly an early investor in Birmingham's canals, being a shareholder (along with Matthew Boulton and Samuel Aris) in the Birmingham Canal. In April 1772, Dr William Small wrote a letter to Boulton describing what sounds like a particularly ill-tempered series of meetings about the canal, although the letter does not make clear precisely what was in dispute:

The meeting met again on the following Friday by adjournment, & abundance of squabble again ensued. M^r. Garbet moved that advice might be taken about the legality of the deed, which he & M^r. Faulconbridge, & some others thought unlawful. It was urged that L^d Dartmouth ought to be previously consulted, and this being agreed he withdrew his motion.

(Dr William Small to Matthew Boulton, 17 April 1772 (MBP, MS 3782/12/235.)

1775: During the early stages of the confrontation with the colonists in North America, a petition was circulated in Birmingham 'signed by a large Body of the principal Inhabitants and Manufacturers of that Industrious and Intelligent Town and Neighbourhood', calling on the Government to deal firmly with the colonists. Delivered to the House of Commons on 26 January 1775, it came to be referred to as the 'Political or War Petition' in debates in the House. The third signature to the petition was Thomas Faulconbridge, immediately following Matthew Boulton, whose name appeared second. Other signatories included Boulton's business partner, John Fothergill, and Joseph Green, whose silver theatre pass has been mentioned above.

It is only fair to Birmingham's reputation with the modern inhabitants of North America to point out that the argument over what line to take with the colonists became very heated in the town, and a counter-petition was signed by 'Sundry Merchants, Factors and Manufacturers' who wanted an accommodation reached because of the danger to trade.

(The relevant documents will be found in folder MBP, MS 3782/12/87/1–10. The handwritten copy of the original petition, listing the names of the signatories, is MS 3782/12/87/1. For more on the dispute, see ABG, 6 February 1775.)

⁷⁴ John Furnell Tuffen (Bristol) to James Watt Senior (Glasgow), 29 August 1809 (James Watt papers, Birmingham Archives and Heritage, MS 3219/4/49/88).

⁷⁵ Vice, forthcoming, No. 1802/17 (see n.69).

1776: From its inception in 1769, Faulconbridge served as one of the members of the Board of Commission charged with improving Birmingham's streets (often popularly referred to as the Street Commission or the Lamp Act Commission. See Symons 2006, 315). On 17 December 1776 the Commissioners agreed to divide the town into twelve 'Divisions or Districts', three Commissioners taking oversight of each district. Faulconbridge, along with Richard Conquest and Edward Sawyer, was allocated the area comprising Bull Lane, Colmore Row, Livery Street, Church Street, New Hall Street, Great Charles Street (from New Hall), New Market [sic], Bread Street and Charles Street.

(Birmingham Archives and Heritage, *Street Commissioners Minute Book 1, 1776–85.*)

APPENDIX 2.

Two descriptions of Matthew Boulton's funeral, 1809.

(1) James Watt Junior (Birmingham) to his father James Watt Senior (Glasgow), 25 August 1809 (James Watt papers, Birmingham Archives and Heritage, MS 3219/4/33/36).

Dear Father

The remains of our excellent friend were yesterday committed to the Grave. The interval of weather was favourable, the procession was well conducted, and the ceremony awful & impressive. Ten Mourning Coaches with friends opened the procession and were followed by the corpse, borne by ten of the oldest men (who had been from 30 to 50 years in his service), with ten others to relieve. The Pall supported by M^r. Keir & myself as your representative, M^r. Simcox & M^r. Clark, M^r. Galton & M^r. Alston, M^r. Tuffen & M^r. Barker. M^r. Boulton came immediately after as chief mourner, and was succeeded by M^r. Mynd and M^r. Walker, M^r. Southern & M^r. Murdoch, M^r. Lawson & M^r. Woodward, M^r. Collins & M^r. Moseley, M^r. Chippendale & M^r. Bownas, M^r. Pearson & M^r. Brown and the whole of the agents & clerks of the Manufactory & Foundry walking two & two, with hatbands & scarfs, to the number of forty. The workmen followed, in number about 430, and 60 to 70 women who are, or have been, employed in the manufactory, walking two & two, both men and women, nearly all in mourning, which they had voluntarily provided. Then came M^r. Boulton's domestic servants, Mr. Mynds, Yours & Mine, in mourning with crepe hatbands. Mr. Boulton's family carriages, yours, and those of all the Gentlemen who attended, empty, closed the procession; which was conducted at a solemn pace from M^r. Boulton's house to the church.

The Rev^d. M^r. Freer, who had been very unwell and was scarcely recovered, read the service in a very impressive manner, and the effect was much increased by the choristers who attended from Birm^m. and the music of the organ. Further details you shall receive from M^r. Tuffen, who undertook jointly with M^r. Moore, the management of this part of the ceremony.

There were few persons in the church, but what were much affected by the recollections which particular passages excited, and it is impossible to conceive any thing more proper & respectful than the conduct of the workmen has been throughout. After the ceremony, they retired to the different public houses where refreshment had been provided for them of cold meat, and when each received from M^r. Boulton a jetton with his age & death on one side, and in memory of his obsequies, on the other. After receiving these and drinking the memory of their departed benefactor standing & in silence, they all repaired to their respective homes, and not a Soho man was to be seen upon the road for the remainder of the day.

Among the friends who attended, were M^r. Jn^o. Wedgewood, M^r. Lee, M^r. Ewart, & M^r. R. Hamilton, with most of the acquaintances of the family from Birmingham and the neighbourhood. Miss Boulton is better, but indulges her grief too much.

I hope M^{rs} Watt as [sic] written to her, as I rather think she has more influence over her than any other person. They should be advised to leave home as early as possible. With kind remembrance to friends with you, I am, D^r. Father;

your dutiful son, J Watt Jnr

(2) John Furnell Tuffen (Bristol) to James Watt senior (Glasgow), 29 August 1809 (James Watt papers, Birmingham Archives and Heritage, MS 3219/4/49/88).

Bristol 29th August 1809

My friend James, knowing I wished it, kindly promised that I should write you from Soho a particular account of our deceased friend's funeral, but my mind was too much agitated & my time too much occupied by circumstances immediately connected with the melancholy event to afford me an opportunity of doing it during my short stay there, having been with them only four days, I shall therefore now give you the best account I can from recollection never having seen the written order of the procession made out for the undertaker's guidance. I believe it commenced with the Parish Church officers, followed by Mutes [?] on horseback with black staves & scarfs, succeeded by nine or ten Mourning Coaches with four horses containing the Clergy & Faculty, then 16 of the ablest bodied workmen in Mourning Cloaks, intended as relays of bearers, afterwards the body, resting upon a frame with legs & handles, covered with black cloth, & born by 8 of the oldest workmen, the Pall supported by M^r. Ja^s. Watt, M^r. Keir, M^r. Clarke, M^r. Galton, M^r. Simcox, M^r. Alston, M^r. Barker & Myself; then followed M.R. Boulton & his cousins, M^r. Z: Walker & M^r. Mynd, after them a numerous assemblage of friends, among whom were M^r. Lee,

M^r. Euart, M^r. A: Hamilton, M^r. Jn^o. Wedgwood, M^r. Moore, M^r. Moillet, &c. &c.; after these above 500 of the Gentlemen, Agents & Clerks connected with the Manufactories, then followed about 500 of the Workmen voluntarily cloathed in mourning at their own expence & 13 or 14 private carriages closed the whole. Early on Thursday morning the entrance to Soho & the road from thence to Handsworth Church was lined with spectators on foot, on horseback & in carriages, to the number it is said of at least 10,000 persons. The procession left Soho at 12 o'clock, it extended nearly the whole way, & enter'd the church about two; M^r. Freer, notwithstanding his late severe illness, from which he is not recovered, read the funeral service in a very impressive manner, assisted by the Rev^d. M^r. Pickering. On the entrance of the procession into the Church & while those who composed it were seating themselves, the following verses of the ninetieth Psalm were sung by the whole Choral Society from Birmingham accompanied by the Organ, Viz'. Verses 3.4.5.6.

[The letter then gives details of the funeral service, which have been omitted here.]

Though the church was crowded in every part & multitudes remained without who could not gain admittance, the utmost stillness & solemnity prevailed, & the effect of the Music was visible in almost every eye. In short nothing could be more appropriate or better conducted, & there never was perhaps a public funeral attended by so many real & respectful mourners. Cold dinners were provided for the men at all the public houses around; the memory of M^r. Boulton was drank in silence, a bronzed token struck in commemoration of the obsequies, was delivered to each, & by five o'clock every one had departed to his home. The morning & evening of the day were rainy, but not a drop fell either during the procession or on its return. If you read M^r. Lawrence's Birmingham Journal you will probably have seen his detail of the funeral ceremony. In some other papers the following short account has appear'd. "M^r. Boulton's funeral. Never have we witnessed a more affecting ceremony than the last sad tribute of respect paid with equal Solemnity & Sorrow to the remains of this excellent man. His body was borne to the Grave by some of his oldest workmen, attended by his Son, by a large assemblage of his relatives & friends, and by all the Individuals connected with his Manufacturing & Commercial Establishments. Many thousand persons attended on the mournful occasion, the decorum of whose conduct bore a respectful testimony to the general intimation of his virtues. The sorrow of his friends was still more impressive; And the silent sympathy of his numerous workmen, unfeignedly & affectionately demonstrated the greatness of his Value & their Loss! Magnificent in his manufacturing establishments, & noble in his reception of ingenious & celebrated men of all countries, he dignified the character of the British Manufacturer. The variety of his talents, was only equalled by his liberality, in the promotion of every useful Art, And the pure honour & integrity which marked his commercial transactions, added a lustre to his general Worth." [sic] In the emphatic words of the solemn service sung on this occasion,

His Body is buried in peace
But his name liveth evermore."

Thus my dear Sir has the grave closed on one of our oldest & dearest friends, whose like, take him for all in all, We shall not see again! It is an arrow that glances very near us; May it not fall unobserved, But when our time cometh, May We also be ready.

[The remainder of the letter then deals with Tuffen's personal matters.]

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DETAILS OF PLATES

- Pl. 22:** Recto and verso of a letter from Andrew Collins (Copenhagen) to Matthew Boulton, 1 November 1794, forwarding a request to strike counterfeit Portuguese gold coins (MBP, MS 3782/12/39/298).
- Pl. 23:** Undated memorandum written by Matthew Boulton, c. November 1801, relating to a request that he make copies of Danish billon coins for the West Indies (MBP, MS 3782/12/46/352).
- Pl. 24:** Letter from Dr Solomon (Liverpool) to Matthew Boulton, 29 July 1796, requesting the production of counterfeit Druid’s head tokens (MBP, MS 3782/12/41/231).

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

'J B' OF 'FOUNDLING FIELDS'

D.W. DYKES

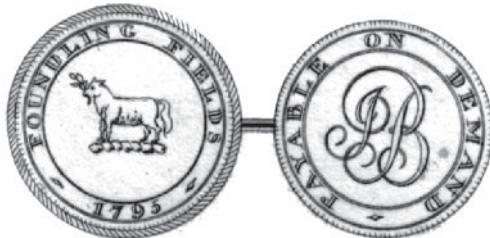


Fig. 1. Detail from plate 29 of Charles Pye's *Provincial Coins and Tokens*, 1801.

SOME years ago I spoke to the Society on the subject of the Westwood/Hancock token consortium, and explained that when John Westwood, senior, died in March 1792, the coining business was taken over by his younger brother Obadiah. Although Obadiah had boasted that it would be 'carried on with its usual Spirit' the business lasted less than three years and Obadiah went the way of his brother into bankruptcy and virtual oblivion in November 1794.¹

To what extent, if any, the coinery played a part in Obadiah's debacle is questionable but, although he was able to re-establish himself rapidly in his old calling of coffin furniture maker, it is clear that his token-making activities with John Gregory Hancock came to an end sometime during the following year.² Even if not directly a factor in a bankruptcy, no doubt precipitated by the recession of 1793–94, it is likely that the coinery had become increasingly unprofitable and a drain on scarce resources. As I have suggested before, a sea-change was taking place in the nature of provincial coinage and the large-scale token production for industrial and commercial concerns on which the Westwoods had built up their business was rapidly becoming a thing of the past. Increasingly the call was for comparatively low-volume issues to meet the needs, profit motives or simple 'vanity' of local shopkeepers; a demand that new, thrusting, manufacturers like Peter Kempson and William Lutwyche were better placed to meet and to foster.

The last tokens produced by the Westwood/Hancock consortium were the '1795' halfpennies struck for the Thames and Severn Canal Company (Fig. 2) and for 'Foundling Fields'. There was, though, a stark difference between the two. The former were among the most celebrated of Hancock's productions, with their dramatic representation of a Severn trow and meticulous depiction of the canal's eastern portal.

The latter, although their engraving is unexceptionable, are demonstrably inferior in quality and design to what had gone before. Pye observed that the 'Foundling Fields' 'impressions are bad in consequence of the copper being too thin' (the cipher of the reverse is always weakly

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to Peter Preston-Morley, Michael Dickinson, Edward Besly, Keith Sugden, Jim Gledhill and Shelley Mullane (Foundling Museum), and Victoria Williams and Alison Hawkins (Hastings Museum and Art Gallery) for their help in the preparation of this paper. My thanks are also due to the Coram/Foundling Museum (Fig. 7), the Guildhall Library (Figs 9 and 10) and the Hastings Museum and Art Gallery (Fig. 11) for their provision of, and permission to reproduce, the illustrations specified.

Abbreviations: *D&H*: Dalton and Hamer, 1910–18; *Middx*: Middlesex.

¹ *The London Gazette*, No. 13723, 15 November 1794, 1139.

² Obadiah Westwood seems to have retired from his coffin furniture business about 1808. Described as a 'gentleman' in a legal document of 1811 he subsequently appears to have moved to Sheffield and then to London (Chelsea), presumably to live with his son John Westwood, junior, where he died in February 1826.



Fig. 2. Thames and Severn Canal halfpenny (*D&H*: Gloucestershire 59).

struck, probably purposely so).³ Moreover while the canal company's halfpennies were most likely struck at a standard of forty-six to the pound avoirdupois (the notional weight standard of Tower halfpence at this time and the standard Lutwyche suggested was the norm for eighteenth-century provincial coins),⁴ the weights of the substantive issue of 'Foundling Fields' tokens examined (averaging 8.08 g) suggest a ratio of pieces of not fewer than fifty-six to the pound.

The halfpennies (*D&H*: Middx 303–305a) fall into three types, all sharing the same obverse die of the crest of a lamb holding in its mouth a sprig of thyme within a circle and the legend **FOUNDLING FIELDS ♦ 1795 ♦** (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Three 'Foundling Fields' halfpenny reverses. *D&H*: Middx 303–5.

There are three reverse dies, two of which broke at an early stage, the third also developing a flaw that tends to obscure the stop in the legend.

D&H: Middx 303: A cipher **J B** within a circle. Legend: **PAYABLE ON DEMAND ♦**. The **J** of the cipher is much smaller than the **B**, and a diamond-shaped stop comes midway between the beginning and the end of the legend.

Edge: grained.

No details of diameter, weight or die axis are known.

Charles Pye in the 1801 edition of his *Provincial Coins and Tokens* tells us that only a few specimens of this version (Plate 29, 6; p. 13) were struck as a result of the die breaking, rating it as 'r,r,r'. Today the piece is excessively rare but it likely that at least two examples are extant. A specimen was sold in the Davis sale in March 1901 (lot 131, bought by Lincoln), described as a proof of the highest rarity. Another was sold in the Hamer sale in November 1930 (lot 163, ex William Norman).⁵ They may well be the same piece and be the token illustrated in *D&H* (p. 130), but one cannot be certain of this. Neither, if there were two, seems to have resurfaced in the collecting world since then but what was fairly definitely a different specimen was offered by Schwer in October 1986 which he described as only 'G. F.'⁶

³ Pye 1801, 13.

⁴ Sharp 1834, ii.

⁵ W.J. Davis Collection, 11 March 1901, lot 131; S.H. Hamer Collection, 26 November 1930, lot 163.

⁶ Schwer List No. 55 (Mail Bid), 21 October 1986: personal communications from Peter Preston-Morley and Michael Dickinson. The Waite Sanderson, Longman, Noble and Spence collections did not include a specimen.

D&H: Middx 304: The letters of the cipher are now the same size but the beginning and end of the legend are much closer and the stop, again mid-way between them, is a round point •.

Edge: grained.

Diameter: 28 mm; average weight: 7.1 g (6.96–7.28 g); die axis: 6h.

This piece is also engraved in Pye's catalogue (Plate 29, 7) but in his 'OBSERVATIONS' (p. 13), Pye confuses the quantity supposedly struck with that of the more plentiful *D&H: Middx 305* which he did not refer to or illustrate.⁷ The token is, in fact, extremely rare. The Davis specimen was described as 'almost of the same degree of rarity' as *D&H: Middx 303* while Kent, as with *D&H: Middx 303*, rated it as 'r r r' stating that its price would be a matter of arrangement.⁸ Very few specimens are known today, the most recent being in the Noble and Spence sales.⁹

There is evidence of an increasing reverse die flaw from the edge under the point to the P of PAYABLE and on towards the first A (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Detail of the die flaw on the edge of *D&H: Middx 304*.

D&H: Middx 305: The cipher is as the last but with the beginning and end of the legend further apart, as in 303. The stop is again a round point but is now much closer to the second D of DEMAND •. It is, however, often obscured by a die flaw rising from the edge below it (Fig. 5); as a result the piece engraved in Denton and Prattent's *The Virtuoso's Companion* (Fig. 6) is erroneously shown with no stop at all.

Edge: grained or in some cases plain (*D&H: 305a*). Specimens also exist in brass.

Diameter: 28 mm; average weight: 8.08 g (7.36–8.56 g); die axis: 6h.



Fig. 5. Detail of the die flaw on the edge of *D&H: Middx 305*.

Pye did not illustrate this version, the substantive issue. It is not uncommon but whether it was struck in the quantity that he implies in his mistaken reference to *D&H: Middx 304* must be open to question. Bearing in mind the lightness of the piece, the quantity he postulates (three hundredweight) would suggest an issue in the region of 18,500 pieces. This seems too

⁷ Pye 1801, Plate 29, nos 6 and 7, and p.13.

⁸ W.J. Davis Collection, 11 March 1901, lot 131; Kent, 1913, 109.

⁹ W.J. Noble Collection, 7 July 1998: lot 433 (part), ex Schwer; David L. Spence Collection, 29 September 2005: lot 1401, ex W. Longman Collection, 12 March 1958: lot 155 (part), ex Baldwin, November 1913.

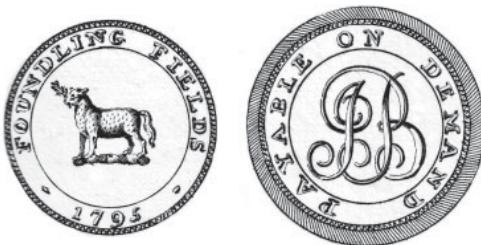


Fig. 6. Detail from plate 57 of the *Virtuoso's Companion*, 25 January 1796.

high on the basis of the number of specimens that are still extant, although the poor quality of the tokens may well have resulted in most having been melted down after 1797 and few having been collected.

It would not be unnatural to conclude that the 'proprietor' or issuer of the tokens, London-based as Pye notes, wanted something done on the cheap to capitalize on the issue of a light-weight coin-substitute in the metropolis. Samuel, in one of his *Bazaar* articles, commenting on the lack of issuer's name or precise address and the tokens' small size and weight, imagined that 'a fair profit was made on their issue, so possibly the issuer was not especially anxious for their return'.¹⁰ One could just as well argue that the 'Foundling Fields' tokens were struck for a specific utilitarian purpose and that, despite their light weight, they were genuinely intended to be promissory within a limited locale where the issuer was so well-known that he needed no designation beyond his initials.

Neither Pye nor, for that matter, Sharp could throw any light on 'J B''s identity. Samuel, however, suggested that the issuer was a 'J Burton' and, although he was writing only in the 1880s, he probably depended on some lingering tradition, for there does just happen to be reliable, contemporary testimony to support his attribution. This is the word of Miss Sophia Banks, who really knew her London tokens, and registers the issuer as 'Burton. London' in the manuscript catalogue of her token collection now in the British Museum.¹¹

Miss Banks's annotation can be taken further but before doing so something should be said about the iconography of the obverse of the token. The combination of the central lamb and the legend **FOUNDLING FIELDS** immediately suggests some association with the celebrated Foundling Hospital, described by one historian as 'the most spectacular philanthropic enterprise of the age'. The lamb on a wreath or torse represents the crest in the armorial bearings granted to the Hospital in 1747 – strictly a lamb argent holding in its mouth a sprig of thyme proper. The arms were based on a design by William Hogarth,¹² a staunch supporter of the Hospital and one of its first Governors, but Hogarth's original lamb was modified by the College of Arms which added the sprig of thyme as a differentiating feature. Initially, indeed, there seemed to be some uncertainty about the concept of the crest, for Hogarth includes a comment below his sketch that the 'Arms are to be altered by the Desire of the Committee[:] a Wolf in Fleecy Hosiery is to be substituted for the Lamb, and the Supporters [*Nature* (exemplified by the many-breasted goddess Artemis, symbolizing the nurture of young things) and *Britannia*] are to be taken away' (Fig. 7). Perhaps it was thought that a 'wolf in sheep's clothing' would better reflect the cruel world from which the Hospital as a caring shepherd would protect its foundlings. In the event the lamb was retained – as modified – and effectively became the Hospital's logo, used on the children's buttons and the institution's crockery and cutlery.

Hogarth played a considerable role, with the redoubtable Captain Coram, in the campaign to set up the Foundling Hospital and he later succeeded in persuading a number of friends among the most distinguished artists of the day to support the Hospital through the gift of

¹⁰ [Samuel], 28 June 1882, 685. A sentiment echoed by Bell 1963, 102.

¹¹ [Sarah Sophia Banks], VI, SSB 191–72–1. It is unlikely that Samuel was aware of Miss Banks's note.

¹² Langford 1991, 568; Nichols, 1782, 234 and 323.



Fig. 7. Hogarth's original pen and ink sketch for the Coat of Arms for the Foundling Hospital, 1747 (Part of the Foundling Hospital Archives in the care of the London Metropolitan Archives © Coram/The Foundling Museum).

paintings and other help.¹³ Of particular numismatic interest is that one of this circle was the medallist Richard Yeo, from 1749 assistant engraver at the Royal Mint, who was persuaded to cut a seal for the Hospital although it was to take another twelve years before his finished work illustrating the finding of Moses in the bulrushes (*Exodus*, 2:1–9) was completed (Fig. 8).¹⁴



Fig. 8. Richard Yeo's Seal for the Foundling Hospital (from Nichols and Wray 1935, facing 201).

As a further aside it may just be worth mentioning that when the arms of the Hospital were finally approved by the College of Arms they included 'in chief' a crescent argent between

¹³ Through the efforts of Hogarth and his fellow 'Gentlemen Artists' the hospital became in effect (as was his intention) a public gallery of contemporary art attracting large numbers of visitors.

¹⁴ McClure 1981, 68. Richard Yeo (c.1720–79) effectively acted as Chief Engraver of the Mint from 1760 and was formally appointed to the post in 1768. Forrer makes no mention of the seal in his list of Yeo's œuvre: Forrer, VI, 1916, 701–4; VIII, 1930, 304–5. The subject of the seal was suggested by Captain Coram himself since Moses was 'the first foundling we read of'.

two mullets or. These devices, coincidentally or not, formed part of the old arms of Halle, the birthplace of Handel who was also closely associated with the Hospital, composing an anthem especially for it and conducting a succession of performances of the *Messiah* to its great financial benefit.

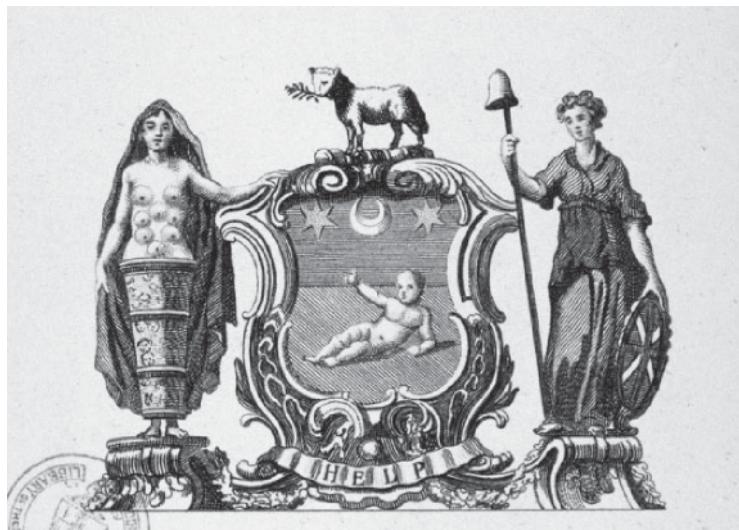


Fig. 9. Detail of an engraving by Thomas Cook of the Arms of the Foundling Hospital, 1809 (© City of London).

But to return to the 'Foundling Fields' halfpenny. The legend **FOUNDLING FIELDS** was a designation that seems to have had no official warrant. In 1745 the Foundling Hospital moved from its original temporary premises in Hatton Garden to Lamb's Conduit Fields,¹⁵ an extensive tract of open countryside in Bloomsbury lying north of what is now Guilford Street with Southampton Row (and the Bedford estate) as its boundary to the west and Grays Inn Road to the east. Guilford Street had not then been built and the fifty-six acres of pasture land that the foundation acquired from the earl of Salisbury lay well beyond the northern fringe of London. Great Ormond Street and Queen Square, with its 'delightful prospect of Hamstead and Hygate [sic]' which so attracted Fanny Burney, constituted the nearest populated area.¹⁶ It therefore offered quiet and fresh air, it was remote from the physical and moral temptations of central London, and it had ample space for expansion. 'Foundling Fields' was thus shorthand for the whole open area surrounding and to the north of the Foundling Hospital, up to what is now the Euston Road. Apart from the present context, the only other reference to it which I have come across is 'Bowling Green House, Foundling Fields', where Thomas Mullett operated a bowling green and served tea, coffee and hot loaves every day, but this was way to the north on the Skinners' Company estate.

The site was far bigger than that needed for the Hospital's actual buildings and grounds, and as the eighteenth century wore on and London expanded further northward, the governors began to realise that a vast income potential lay in the development of what had become a considerable landed asset. Parts of the adjoining Bedford estate to the west – Bedford Square and Gower Street, for instance – had already been built up when in 1788 the hospital decided, in the face of a vocal opposition against what was seen as further intrusion into a green field area, to embark upon its own development plan.

¹⁵ So named after William Lamb, an Elizabethan philanthropist, who restored the local conduit from a tributary of the Fleet to provide a public water supply in the area in 1577.

¹⁶ Ellis (ed), 1889, I, 98 [16 November 1770]. From her father's house at the upper end of Queen Square Fanny Burney, writing in 1770, would have seen the distant villages on the far heights beyond a clear and vast expanse of farm and heath land.



Fig. 10. The Foundling Hospital Estate, beyond the northern edge of the built-up areas of London (section from John Rocque's Plan of London and Westminster, 1746, © City of London).

The scheme, skilfully conceived to preserve the advantages of the hospital's open situation within an appropriate architectural setting and strictly controlled by the foundation's surveyor, was put out to individual speculators. These ranged from the small working journeyman to the larger capitalist and, although at first it was the hospital's policy not to allow any one speculator to take up the leases of more than a moderate proportion of the ground available, one builder soon began to tower above his fellows, to dominate the development of Bloomsbury for the next twenty years and become the most enterprising and successful London builder of his time.

This was James Burton (1761–1837), the son of William Haliburton, a Southwark builder of Scottish descent, a son of the manse and apparently well connected.¹⁷ Little is known of Burton's early years – like that of the musicologist Charles Burney (Macburney), his family, taking the high road south, had de-Scotized their surname to make themselves more acceptable in an English milieu – but he was professionally trained as a surveyor, and was already practising as a successful architect and builder in Southwark when in 1790 he approached the

¹⁷ Both Sir Walter Scott and Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar fame were distant relations. For Burton's career see Colvin 1995, 199–200; *ODNB* 2004, *sub* 'Burton'; Olsen 1964, 52–55 and *passim*; and Baines 1956, 13–19.

Hospital for an option to develop single-handedly the whole of the western part of its estate. The twenty-nine year old's proposals were rejected, but two years later he was allocated the south side of Brunswick Square and part of Guilford Street and in 1793 further ground between Guilford Street and Bernard Street. By 1795 he had contracted to build the west side of Brunswick Square and the whole tranche of land to the west as far as the Bedford estate. Before long he was adding site to site until virtually all of the earmarked development was in his hands, and within a decade he been responsible for the construction of 586 houses on the Foundling estate, with a gross value estimated in 1823 at £296,700. Much of this area, ravaged by bombing in the Second World War and by subsequent redevelopment, has been replaced by the grotesquely modernist Brunswick Centre and Burton himself has become a largely forgotten figure, overshadowed by his precocious son Decimus. But in 1807 Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the surveyor to the Foundling Hospital, spoke of Burton in glowing terms:

Mr. Burton is the one individual ... to whom your excellent charity is indebted for the improvement which has taken place on the estate. All that has been done by the other builders is comparatively trifling and insignificant. Without such a man, possessed of very considerable talents, unwearyed industry, and a capital of his own, the extraordinary success of the improvement of the Foundling estate could not have taken place.¹⁸

This, though, was but the beginning of an entrepreneurial career in the construction industry. Burton had already moved on to the adjacent Bedford and Skinners' Company estates – building Russell Square and its adjoining streets, the east side of Tavistock Square, Burton Street and Burton (now Cartwright) Crescent – and then on to some of the Nash terraces around Regent's Park, a large part of Regent Street and finally Waterloo Place. In the meantime he had undertaken a big housing estate in Tunbridge Wells and then, having overspent himself on Regent Street, went on to dissipate what remained of his fortune in the creation of the fashionable seaside resort of St Leonard's-on-Sea in Sussex – which by 1833 could be described as 'the most unique collection of elegant buildings of any watering place on the British coast' or, if your architectural disposition was more jaundiced, as 'a conceited Italian town'.¹⁹



Fig. 11. James Burton (1761–1837) (© Hastings Museum & Art Gallery).

¹⁸ Quoted in Olsen 1964, 79.

¹⁹ Quoted in Colvin 1995, 199 and the *ODNB*, 2004, *sub* 'Burton'. Despite the magnitude of Burton's development expenditure he still managed to be worth £60,000 on his death.

All this was in the future, however. In 1795 he was still actively developing the area bounded by the west side of Brunswick Square, Bernard Street, Great Coram Street and Woburn Place and it is this land to which the title 'Foundling Fields' was probably given, not an official Hospital designation but a shorthand by Burton for the area he was developing.

It is in this context that one must view the 'JB' halfpenny: not as a cheap profit-making artifice as Samuel implies, but as a genuinely redeemable token coin supplied by Burton to his subcontractors to help make up the wage bills of the workmen employed on this particular undertaking. Paltry the tokens may have been, but there was no need for them to have been any heavier than they were since they must have been intended to be of only limited circulation in a restricted neighbourhood, probably venturing little further than the eponymous tavern in Lamb's Conduit Street which was the workers' nearest house of call. In such circumstances, too, there was no need to identify their issuer other than by his initials for recipients would have known that the tokens would have been readily honoured by someone who, canny Scot that he was, was an honest employer and immediately available at the centre of his hive of building activity in 'Foundling Fields'.

Burton died at St Leonard's in March 1837.²⁰ A veritable captain of the building industry, bold, thrusting, and of undoubted vision, he had established his reputation forty years before in his first great entrepreneurial venture in Foundling Fields. Brunswick Square balanced by its counterpart Mecklenburgh Square made up the centrepiece of an area to which he gave style and uniformity and yet still preserved the open aspect of its setting. Even after the turn of the century, when the Foundling estate was being intensively developed, the area could still be described as airy, even if the 'cheering prospect of ... the beautiful Hampstead Hills' was rapidly disappearing. As Jane Austen's Isabella Knightley was at pains to point out to her valetudinarian father:

Our part of London is so very superior to most others! You must not confound us with London in general, my dear sir. The neighbourhood of Brunswick Square is very different from almost all the rest. We are so very airy ... so remarkably airy! – Mr Wingfield [a London apothecary] thinks the vicinity of Brunswick Square decidedly the most favourable as to air.²¹

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²⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine* recorded Burton's death on 31 March in its issue for June 1837 (Vol. VII, New Series, Part I, 669): 'At St Leonard's on the Sea, aged 76, James Burton, esq., the celebrated architect and builder of that new watering place, as also of Burton Crescent, &c, &c'.

²¹ Austen 1817 [1996], 86–7.

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

THE NEW ZEALAND ‘WAITANGI’ CROWN OF 1935

MARK STOCKER

Introduction

THE crown piece of 1935, popularly known as the ‘Waitangi Crown’ because of its reverse design and exergue inscription (Fig. 1), occupies a special place in the numismatic history of New Zealand. As a work of art, it is surely less startling than the British Silver Jubilee crown of the same year by the same designer, Percy Metcalfe, which depicts a bareheaded St George on a clockwork horse vanquishing ‘a very angular wounded dragon’ (Fig. 2).¹ But whereas almost three-quarters of a million of the latter coins were produced, there were just 1,128 Waitangi Crown pieces. Already classified by Allan Sutherland in his *Numismatic History of New Zealand* (1941) as ‘very scarce’, it is the rarest New Zealand non-gold coin apart from the so-called 1879 ‘Pattern Penny’ by Allen & Moore of Birmingham, which is properly accorded token status.² Why were so few crowns produced, even for a Dominion whose population barely exceeded one and a half million at the time? Although the surviving documentation fails to answer this question explicitly, several possible explanations are offered at the end of this article.



Fig. 1. The Waitangi Crown (diameter 39 mm).



Fig. 2. Percy Metcalfe’s 1935 Crown (diameter 39 mm).

Acknowledgements. This article was originally presented as a paper at the third conference of the Numismatic Association of Australia, Macquarie University, on 29 November 2009. I am most grateful to Philip Attwood, Ann Compton, Rosi Crane, Dr Edward Hanfling, Colin Pitchfork, Martin Purdy, Iain Sharp, Dr Allan Sutherland, Dr Patricia Wallace and Dr Philip Ward-Jackson for their assistance with the article.

¹ Seaby 1985, 165–6.

² Sutherland 1941, 111–12.

While the coin's rarity and attendant monetary value have understandably preoccupied collectors, further factors underlie its numismatic and aesthetic interest. The crown raises still highly relevant cultural questions of Maori and Pakeha (New Zealand European) identity and how New Zealand in the 1930s viewed and reconstructed its past. In examining the circumstances behind the crown's design and production, this article will also explore the relationship between a dominant New Zealand Minister of Finance, Gordon Coates, and his equally imperious counterpart at the Royal Mint, the Deputy Master, Sir Robert Johnson.³ Art historical questions of what was later called Art Deco design and its critics will be raised. Another important consideration is the role and response of the recently founded (1931) New Zealand Numismatic Society in relation to the coin. Its documentation is relatively better than that for the 1939–40 halfpenny, penny and commemorative half-crown.⁴ This is partly thanks to the extensive and still uncatalogued papers deposited at the Auckland Central Library of that dominant figure in mid-twentieth century New Zealand numismatics, Allan Sutherland (1900–1967).⁵ Further invaluable documentation of the coin's lengthy design process survives in Royal Mint files at the National Archives, Kew, in the form of correspondence, memoranda and, importantly, illustrations of trial designs. Less copious but still useful are early transactions of the New Zealand Numismatic Society.

Why was the crown issued?

One of the earliest recorded references to a crown piece is in the draft typescript of a letter dated 17 October 1933 from Sutherland to the Secretary of the Treasury, A.D. Park. Sutherland was directed by the Council of the New Zealand Numismatic Society, as its honorary secretary, to submit a proposal for a limited issue of crowns 'in specimen or collectors' sets, on the lines of the Imperial practice'. Although crowns were common currency neither in Britain nor in New Zealand, Sutherland stated that 'every time there is a change in the design of Imperial coins, a new crown is issued to keep the denomination alive, and incidentally, the profit to the State is considerable'. Such language was calculated to appeal to a senior Treasury official and befitted the man who later became editor-in-chief of *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1957–62). Sutherland recommended 'no fewer than 10,000 collectors' sets to be sold from the Royal Mint', claiming that 'the demand for specimens of an entirely new coinage, such as the New Zealand issue, should be equally as great, if not greater – if the designs are attractive'.⁶ Sutherland was well placed to make this submission through his membership of the government-appointed coinage design committee convened by Coates. It had recently been working with the Royal Mint on New Zealand's first national coinage, which featured new reverse designs from the half-crown to the threepence, by George Kruger Gray. These were on the verge of completion and circulation at the time.⁷ In a personal letter to Park, Sutherland reiterated the point and drafted a helpful public announcement stating that 'Single specimens of the first issue of the crown will not be available other than in collectors' sets, the issue of which will be strictly limited'. Future crowns, he believed, would be 'sought after', not only by collectors wanting specimen sets but also by non-collectors aspiring 'to possess an unusual or large coin'.⁸

³ For Coates, Johnson and the 1933 coinage reverse designs see Stocker 2005.

⁴ Sutherland 1941, 277–9; Hargreaves 1972, 154–6. An article on these coins is currently in preparation.

⁵ Sutherland is a surprising omission from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. For his obituary see Stagg ['G.T.S.] 1968, 125–7.

⁶ Allan Sutherland Papers, Special Collections, Auckland Central Library. Allan Sutherland to A.D. Park, 17 October 1933 (copy).

⁷ Stocker 2005.

⁸ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to Park, 17 October 1933 (copy).

Commemorating Waitangi

Sutherland – and the Society – proved persuasive. Before the matter became public knowledge, at a meeting on 15 January 1934, members ‘expressed gratification at the decision of the Government to issue crown pieces for numismatists, in keeping with the Imperial practice’. The crown reverse would ‘bear a Waitangi design’, to honour the name, location and political significance of New Zealand’s formative constitutional document, the Treaty of Waitangi, signed between Maori and Pakeha representatives in 1840.⁹ Privately, Sutherland expressed reservations about the suitability of the subject matter, sentiments that were shared by Professor John (later Sir John) Rankine Brown, President of the Society and a fellow design committee member. This was because 1940, the centenary of the Treaty, seemed to them a more appropriate date of issue for such a coin. Furthermore, at the time, the Society itself was planning to commission a limited edition medal to be struck in honour of the Governor-General, Charles Bathurst, Viscount Bledisloe and ‘the nationalisation of Waitangi’ (Fig. 3).¹⁰ The *mana* (spiritual power and prestige) of this medal would inevitably be somewhat compromised by a large, high value coin on sale to the general public. But any such numismatic sensibilities were swept aside by Coates, who was hardly disposed to wait another six years for the centenary. Brown was left to complain impotently of how ‘politics... entered the question’.¹¹



Fig. 3. James Berry, Bledisloe Medal for the New Zealand Numismatic Society, 1934 (presented 1935) (diameter 51 mm).

Waitangi dominated the news at the time and marked a welcome diversion from the economic depression. Bledisloe had organised and personally contributed towards the purchase of the Mangungu Mission House, where the Treaty was signed, together with surrounding land. The site was formally dedicated to the people of New Zealand at the anniversary celebrations of 5–6 February 1934. Before a crowd of some six thousand Maori and four thousand Pakeha, a newly erected thirty metre flagstaff, two visiting naval ships and a guard of honour of 150, Bledisloe laid the foundations for a new *whare runanga* (meeting house) on which was inscribed ‘*Ko te papepae tapu o te tiriti o Waitangi*’ (‘the sacred threshold of the treaty of Waitangi’).¹² The event has been widely regarded as marking ‘the modern history of Waitangi and of the Treaty’.¹³ Coates capitalised on the occasion by going public on the proposed coin. Under the headline ‘Waitangi Emblem: New Five-Shilling Piece’, the *Auckland Star* reported the Finance Minister’s announcement ‘at the conference with the Maoris today’

⁹ Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand 2005, 15th meeting, 15 January 1934. For an excellent account of the Treaty of Waitangi see King 2003, 151–67.

¹⁰ Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand 2005, 16th meeting, 6 February 1935.

¹¹ Allan Sutherland Papers, James Rankine Brown to the Revd D.C. Bates, 8 February 1934.

¹² Renwick 2004, 103–4.

¹³ Renwick 2004, 102.

that 'the five-shilling piece of the new Dominion coinage will be a representation of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi':

The Minister said the decision had been made early that morning [sic]... the representation of the treaty scene would include the figures of the first Governor of New Zealand, Captain William Hobson, R.N., the Rev. Henry Williams, one or two other missionaries, Tamati Waka Nene and other chiefs. The pictorial representation would convey the message that the treaty meant everything to the people of New Zealand. Like the half crown and sixpence which have recently been put into circulation, the new five shilling piece was designed by Mr George Kruger Gray.¹⁴

Rejected designs by James Berry and Kruger Gray

This last statement was both premature and inaccurate. The person entrusted with providing the initial designs was in fact James Berry (1906–1979), a Wellington-based commercial artist who was then at the outset of his career as one of New Zealand's most successful and prolific designers of coins, medals and stamps.¹⁵ The circumstances of his commission are unclear, but it seems likely that Berry was approached either by the design committee or by Sutherland himself. He was also commissioned to design the Numismatic Society's Bledisloe and Waitangi medal, mentioned above. In his correspondence with Sutherland, Berry adopted a polite, almost deferential tone, and asked him whether 'twelve or fifteen guineas' was a suitable fee to request from the Treasury for his work.¹⁶ Berry's drawings were primarily intended, as Sutherland stated, to serve as guidelines for 'the coinage artist attached to the Royal Mint in the preparation for the design'. Sutherland later explained to Johnson how the design was 'taken from the bas relief of a Wellington statue showing Maori chiefs signing the Treaty'.¹⁷ This referred to one of Alfred Drury's bronze reliefs on the pedestal of his Queen Victoria Memorial in Wellington (1902–5), whose design would in turn be reproduced on the 1940 Reserve Bank of New Zealand ten shilling banknote.¹⁸ Sutherland believed that 'there is no overcrowding as one might expect' in the composition.¹⁹ A surviving drawing (Fig. 4) that correlates with this description is reproduced in J.R. Tye's monograph, *The Image Maker: The Art of James Berry* (1984), but this suggests a conclusion different from Sutherland's.



Fig. 4. James Berry, design for crown, 1933.

¹⁴ *Auckland Star*, 7 February 1934. For William Hobson see Moon 1998; for Tamati Waka Nene see Ballara 1990.

¹⁵ Tye 1984.

¹⁶ Allan Sutherland Papers, James Berry to Sutherland, undated (March 1934).

¹⁷ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to Robert Johnson, 11 April 1934 (copy).

¹⁸ Stocker 2001, 17–23.

¹⁹ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to Johnson, 11 April 1934 (copy).

The Royal Mint Standing Committee on Coins, Medals and Decorations met in June 1934, when it considered two pairs of designs for the crown. Their authorship was not identified but all of them were probably by Berry. The sole surviving design in the Royal Mint album at the National Archives is a photograph of a plaster relief (Fig. 5), which bears the initials of both Berry and Kruger Gray. Clearly the latter had modelled one of Berry's designs and from archival evidence, this had been executed relatively rapidly. The relief corresponds to Berry's description of an alternative design to the group of chiefs, which 'will depict the two main figures Captain Hobson & Waka Nene & something symbolic of Waitangi in the background'.²⁰ In the event, the only background feature is the inscription 'WITANGI 1840'. Maori spelling was not Kruger Gray's forte, as he ruefully recognised when it was too late. Kruger Gray had little faith in either the group design – 'the signing of the Treaty he thought impossible for a metal coin'²¹ – or indeed in his model of the alternative with two figures: 'I'm afraid it is pretty bad'. He claimed that Hobson's uniform, as depicted in 'the Drawing which the New Zealand people have made', was 'quite incorrect' and he had thus altered it to the best of his knowledge, using a print dating from 1848. He had, however, 'followed the design in the main', including, for instance, a decorative frame based on traditional Maori rafter patterns (*kowhaiwhai*).²²



Fig. 5. James Berry and George Kruger Gray, model for crown, 1934 (photograph of plaster relief).

In the event, neither pair appealed to the Committee, which was 'unanimously of the opinion that the designs as submitted by the Dominion were quite unsuitable for a coin or even a small medal'. They were considered 'too pictorial in character and, moreover, included far too much detail for successful representation in metal or coin size. Mr. Kruger Gray's modelled design received no commendation'. When pressed by Johnson to indicate a preference, the Committee conceded that the design with two figures 'offered greater possibilities'. Sir William Goscombe John, a distinguished survivor of the New Sculpture movement, 'suggested that Mr. Metcalfe should be invited to try his hand'. Although A.D. (Athol) Mackay, the Finance Officer at the New Zealand High Commission and a major figure in subsequent negotiations over the coin, rightly believed that the authorities back home 'would not welcome

²⁰ Allan Sutherland Papers, Berry to Sutherland, 6 March 1934.

²¹ National Archives/PRO MINT 20/1266, Robert Johnson, memorandum, 30 May 1934.

²² PRO MINT 20/1266, George Kruger Gray to Johnson, 11 June 1934. Several days earlier Johnson had forwarded published portraits of Hobson and Nene to Kruger Gray, which had been supplied by Coates. In reference to Nene, Johnson wrote: 'Personally I do not see that you will be able to reproduce this villainous looking chap on a piece the size of a crown and, in any case, a full faced likeness is not much good to you' (PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to Kruger Gray, 31 May 1934). In probable confirmation of this, Kruger Gray makes no specific mention of either portrait.

the abandonment of the ideas submitted, nor of any considerable departure from the designs', after lengthy discussions the Committee suggested that 'alternative designs commemorating the Waitangi treaty by approved medallists in this country [Great Britain] could, if desired, be submitted'.²³ We hear no more from the disaffected Kruger Gray, but within six weeks Percy Metcalfe's first designs for the crown were being considered by the Committee.

Percy Metcalfe's first design

Their visual origins deserve speculation. Berry had earlier told Sutherland that he had 'also drawn an alternative centre piece with the two figures keeping the crown between the heads'.²⁴ Perhaps Metcalfe received such a drawing, as his designs correspond to this description. However, there is little or no visual evidence to suggest any further involvement by Berry in the design. At the June meeting, Goscombe John had suggested that 'something might be made of the figures if they were treated ... say, after the manner of Flaxman'.²⁵ He was probably thinking of John Flaxman's famous Wedgwood jasper relief, *Mercury Uniting the Hands of Britain and France* (1787), where personifications of the two nations, rendered in strict profile, shake hands to commemorate the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786.²⁶ Metcalfe modified Flaxman's graceful Neo-classical aesthetic into a contemporary Art Deco idiom, which is at once more hard-edged and virile. The static, profiled figures are strongly evocative of the Egyptian Revival, which was a significant Art Deco sub-style.²⁷ Metcalfe's work in turn has close affinities with that of the sculptor Charles Sargeant Jagger, who had earlier employed him as a studio assistant and was a fellow Yorkshireman and Royal College of Art graduate to boot.²⁸ Prior to Jagger's untimely death in November 1934, he was Metcalfe's staunch advocate on the Advisory Committee.

At the next Advisory Committee meeting in late July, Metcalfe's first design, in the form of photographs of a 3-inch diameter model, 'was generally approved of and considered a distinguished work' (Fig. 6). Minor improvements were, however, suggested. Hobson's right trouser leg 'should not be quite so tubular in form, and if possible, the boot should not be concealed behind the foot of the Maori chieftain. Strap trousers were probably worn at the date in question'. Hobson's chest was considered 'a little too "bombé"' and might be improved', while the accuracy of his military stripes needed verification.²⁹



Fig. 6. Percy Metcalfe, first design for crown reverse, July 1934.

²³ National Archives PRO MINT 25/2, Royal Mint Advisory Committee, 84th meeting, 13 June 1934. For Athol Mackay, see McKinnon 2003, 182–3.

²⁴ Allan Sutherland Papers, Berry to Sutherland, 6 March 1934.

²⁵ PRO MINT 25/2, as in n.23.

²⁶ See Bindman 1979, 48, 64–65.

²⁷ See Frayling 2003.

²⁸ Forrester 2006, 22.

²⁹ PRO MINT 25/2, RMAC, 85th meeting, 27 July 1934.

Questions over the date were also raised; 1933 was initially used to be consistent with the other new coins, but this appeared odd in view of the fact that the crown could not hope to be struck before late 1934. Neither the Advisory Committee nor Metcalfe himself appear to have been properly briefed about the particular significance of the events at Waitangi in the previous February. In terms of historical accuracy, it was asked 'Should Capt. Hobson be shown wearing a beard and whiskers?'³⁰ Advice was also sought on the accuracy of Nene's features. While Mackay believed that his hair was 'not quite correct', there is no recorded mention of the absence of *moko* (facial tattooing). The latter would, however, feature in all of Metcalfe's subsequent designs. Mackay expressed reservations about the rendering of Nene's ceremonial cloak, which he believed 'should be definitely of small feathers'.³¹ This was not necessarily correct. In his pioneering history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, William Colenso claimed that a variety of cloaks were worn for the occasion, including 'splendid looking' new woollen ones, probably of French manufacture, while other Maori wore customary and in some cases European dress.³² According to Patricia Wallace, it is likely that Nene wore a *kahu kuri* or dog skin cloak.³³ He surely wore nothing quite like Metcalfe's creation, which looks as if it were composed of neat rows of plantains. Metcalfe's hard-edged style, while unquestionably powerful, was less suitable in this context than the more delicately pictorial approach of Kruger Gray. Understandably, neither artist could claim cultural familiarity with the subject matter involved, and both of them had earlier encountered difficulties in the naturalistic rendition of the kiwi for a lower denomination reverse.³⁴

The interventions of Gordon Coates

Photographs of the designs reached Wellington in early September 1934. Coates responded discouragingly by requesting temporary suspension of work, pending 'further instructions'.³⁵ He eventually sent these to Mackay in a telegram of mid-November. Coates found Metcalfe's designs 'disappointing, especially as regards features, neither faces [sic] bear any resemblance to personalities intended to be depicted'. He itemised the following faults: 'Firstly: Wrong leg forward. Secondly: Both legs too rigid as Maori not seen with legs quite straight but always on the alert. Thirdly: Right leg and left forearm of Maori too unshapely, and right arm unduly long'. Unless the cloak could be correctly reproduced, Coates suggested its replacement with a flaxen *piupiu* kilt, with the implication that Nene's torso be left naked, like that of a common Maori warrior. In retrospect, the very notion of the 'topless' Nga Puhi tribe *rangatira* (chief-tain) signing the treaty appears a graver solecism than Metcalfe's cloaked figure, for all its inaccuracies. Coates also instructed that Metcalfe be provided with photographs taken of Maori at the recent celebrations that featured in the *Auckland Weekly News*. These would assist him 'with regard to following points smooth modelling and proportion(s) powerful limbs also typical posture of figures, also correct position of cloak' [sic].³⁶ Lastly, and perhaps most persuasively, Coates recommended a smaller crown motif.

In a letter to Mackay, Sutherland echoed Coates's sentiments:

...negotiations have been proceeding with alternative [designs]. It was ever thus. We do not mind the delay so long as we get a good design. The last design submitted was prepared by Metcalfe who was unsuccessful with our other designs... The only difficulty about the latest design is that Metcalfe is an 'impressionist' and his style is not in keeping with Kruger Gray's more natural style shown in the coins already issued. The series should be uniform in treatment. This means a little further delay.³⁷

³⁰ PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to A.D. Mackay, 30 July 1934 (copy).

³¹ PRO MINT 25/2, as in n.29.

³² Colenso 1890, 15.

³³ Patricia Wallace, e-mail to the author, 21 November 2009. See also Wallace 2007.

³⁴ Stocker 2005.

³⁵ PRO MINT 20/1266, Mackay to Johnson, 6 November 1934.

³⁶ PRO MINT 20/1266, Government (Gordon Coates) to High Commissioner (Thomas Wilford), 13 November 1934 (copy).

³⁷ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to Mackay, 25 October 1934 (copy).

While the 'impressionist' label would have probably baffled Claude Monet, Sutherland's wary conservatism towards what we would today call the Art Deco aesthetic is manifest. He had earlier criticised Metcalfe's unadopted designs for the reverses of the lower denominations on similar grounds, although he evinced respect for the artist in his correspondence with Johnson.³⁸ In later years Sunderland's stylistic conservatism proved decisive in the adoption of New Zealand's first decimal coins (1967), where James Berry's designs for the reverses were favoured over the more sophisticated modernism of Paul Beadle, Milner Gray and Eileen Mayo.³⁹

Metcalfe's modifications

Meanwhile, unaware of Coates's moratorium, Metcalfe had been revising the model in the light of the July meeting of the Advisory Committee. Several of the objections coming from the New Zealand authorities no longer applied. In his new design, he replaced Nene's cloak with a *piupiu* and reversed the position of his legs, as well as introducing creases on Hobson's trousers to render them less tubular (Fig. 7). Hearing the latest requirements from Coates, Metcalfe told Johnson: '... if it were strongly felt that the crown should be smaller, I would alter it, but from a design point of view, not willingly'.⁴⁰ He was obviously frustrated by his reliance on the response of Coates and the New Zealand committee, with the delays and setbacks that this entailed. Encouragement on the spot from Mackay carried limited clout in New Zealand. Metcalfe thus felt in need of 'someone who will decide what final amendments should be made' and suggested that the High Commissioner would be suitable for such a role. Had Metcalfe known it, Sir Thomas Wilford, then nearing the end of his term, would have proved no match for Coates.⁴¹



Fig. 7. Metcalfe, design for crown, July–September 1934.

Coates made his position clear in a telegram of 28 November, which bluntly stated: 'I am not prepared to accept present arrangement limbs and size of hands being quite unnatural and not typical Maori'.⁴² Johnson's response – directed at the patient Mackay – was caustic: 'I have no idea... in what way the limbs and size of Maori hands differ from those of ordinary human beings'.⁴³ A new model was clearly required. With Metcalfe's imminent departure for Iraq – where he would model the portrait of King Ghazi I for its coinage – one was hurriedly produced by mid-December. Johnson expressed 'sincere trust' that the new design would

³⁸ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to Johnson, 24 April 1936 (copy).

³⁹ See Stocker 2000.

⁴⁰ PRO MINT 20/1266, Metcalfe to Johnson, 24 November 1934.

⁴¹ Stocker 2005, 150.

⁴² PRO MINT 20/1266, Coates to Wilford, 28 November 1934 (copy).

⁴³ PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to Mackay, 30 November 1934 (copy).

finally be approved by Coates and the New Zealand committee: 'As they are now doubt aware, the preparation of this piece has given the artist a very great deal of trouble'.⁴⁴

A further rejection



Fig. 8. Metcalfe, design for crown, November–December 1934.

Metcalfe's revised model (Fig. 8) was evidently well received. In February 1935 Mackay reported to Johnson that 'cabled advice has been received from the Dominion today approving of the amended design and asking you to proceed with the work. The delay ... is regretted, but apparently the NZ Committee is now satisfied'.⁴⁵ In May an order was processed by H.W.L. Evans, Superintendent at the Mint, for 345 specimen sets of the six denominations of 1935 coins, 95 of which would go into leather cases, as well as for a further 600 loose coins. The order further stated that 'the whole work should be completed as soon as possible'.⁴⁶ It was not. On his visit to the Royal Mint in the same month, Sutherland was 'shown a trial N.Z. crown piece', which Johnson 'wanted me to O.K., but I stated that the power rested with Mr. Coates'.⁴⁷ The latter was on an emergency visit to London to safeguard Dominion meat export quotas. Johnson courteously but fatefully invited Coates to the Mint, suggesting 'you might perhaps like to come down here and strike the first piece'.⁴⁸ It was an exasperated Deputy Master who reported to Mackay several days later that 'Mr Coates and Miss Montague were 'not really satisfied with the legs and, in the circs [sic] shall do my best to persuade Metcalfe to make the necessary alterations'.⁴⁹ The Mint album bears the telltale documentation: '4th Design as finally adopted Not approved June 1935'.⁵⁰ One of the two known specimens of the rejected pattern coin is in the collection of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, Wellington and is on permanent display there.⁵¹

Metcalfe produced a fifth and final model the following month (Fig. 9). It contained several significant modifications that probably stemmed from Coates's most recent criticisms. The date was changed to the current year, a move that later inadvertently annoyed the New Zealand government in view of the fact that 1934 had been the *annus mirabilis* in Waitangi's recent

⁴⁴ PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to Mackay, 14 December 1934 (copy).

⁴⁵ PRO MINT 20/1266, Mackay to Johnson, 19 February 1935.

⁴⁶ PRO MINT 20/1266, Statement by H.W.L. Evans, 17 May 1935.

⁴⁷ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to J. Rankine Brown, 9 October 1935 (copy).

⁴⁸ PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to Coates, 6 June 1935 (copy).

⁴⁹ PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to Mackay, 14 June 1935 (copy). In the same letter, Johnson indicated that Metcalfe was available 'to go and see Mr Coates', though no meeting was recorded. 'Miss Montague' was Coates's devoted private secretary and probable lover, Helen ('Tui') Montague. See Bassett 1995, especially at pp. 239–40.

⁵⁰ PRO MINT 7/43, 14.

⁵¹ For another pattern coin see Spink & Son (Australia) Pty Ltd, Catalogue of Important Australian and New Zealand Coins, Medals and Banknotes, 27 October 1977, lot 707. The present location of this coin is unknown.

history. The implication of the exergue inscription together with the date was that 1935 was somehow more significant.⁵² In addition, Nene's *piupiu* was raised to above knee-length and was given horizontal banding. The crown motif was increased to a size somewhere between the early, large version engulfing the heads of the two figures and the recent version just clear of them and made at Coates's insistence. As a consequence, an uncomfortable formal collision occurs between Nene's staff (*taiaha*) and the crown. In August Metcalfe visited the Mint to inspect the reduction punch, 'which he approved (though he still dislikes the design)'.⁵³ His reaction was understandable, as the end result surely testifies more to Coates's fussiness and micromanagement than to any palpable aesthetic improvements.



Fig. 9. Metcalfe, final design for crown, June–July 1935.

Acceptance and apathy

By mid-October, three fresh specimen crowns were presented to the New Zealand High Commission for approval before the 945 then required were struck. In his response, Mackay indicated that authority was given to proceed with the order without waiting for the specimens to reach New Zealand. Ten more loose crowns were ordered and Mackay sympathetically told Johnson: 'You will doubtless not be sorry when the last case of Crown pieces finally leaves the Royal Mint'.⁵⁴ In the event, authorising the issue proved to be one of Coates's final acts as Minister of Finance. In late November his United-Reform coalition government was crushingly defeated by the Labour opposition in the general election.⁵⁵ There is no evidence of interest in the coin from Coates's successor as Minister of Finance, Walter Nash, although orders were made for a further 173 pieces during the course of 1936. Another mini-controversy erupted in February of that year, when H.G. Williams, proprietor of the New Zealand Coin Exchange, Dunedin, vociferously complained to the Secretary of the Treasury about the inadequate packaging of the crown pieces:

I was astounded to find the Crowns were made up in Parcels of 20 pieces without even a piece of paper in-between each Coin to keep them from rubbing together ... These coins were made especially for collectors'

⁵² This appeared to have gone unnoticed until it was too late. The issue was raised by the Dunedin dealer H.G. Williams, who told A.D. Park that 'The New Zealand Crowns were originally to be dated 1933... Next it was decided to date them 1934 to conform with the Waitangi celebrations. Now they are issued dated 1935 with the word Waitangi which is definitely wrong. Then to complete the blunders they do not carry the artist's initials' (PRO MINT 20/1266, 7 February 1936 [copy]). William Perry apologetically acknowledged how 'This matter of a date is most unfortunate' but stated that the significance of 1934 'had been missed owing to the great delay which had occurred since ... the coin was first proposed'. (PRO MINT 20/1266, Perry to Mackay, 6 April 1936).

⁵³ PRO MINT 7/43, 15.

⁵⁴ PRO MINT 20/1266, Mackay to Johnson, 16 October 1935.

⁵⁵ Bassett 1995, 213–31.

use and were proofed for that purpose and an extra charge of 50% was made. I have gone carefully through the 200 I have and cannot find one piece an advanced collector would with pleasure put into his cabinet.⁵⁶

The complaint was answered at the Mint by William Perry, who explained that these were among the 610 that had been ordered as 'ordinary coins' and not as '... specimen pieces. If they had been ordered as specimens they would have been struck with polished dies, individually examined for defects, and each packed separately into a cardboard box'. Perry recognised that loose coins, especially large crowns, were potentially vulnerable to scratching.⁵⁷ Evidently Williams, the archetypal Kiwi huckster, was engaged in making up sets of uncirculated coins obtained from the bank and then selling them in boxes as specimen sets at eighteen shillings apiece. As such activity constituted 'competition with the genuine specimen sets issued officially' it seemed 'fortunate that he has encountered difficulties in his activities'.⁵⁸

Why were so few Waitangi crowns issued? In retrospect, it seems puzzling that all parties concerned – whether Johnson and Mackay in London, or Coates and Sutherland in Wellington – should have expended so much energy on such a limited release. One thousand, one hundred and twenty-eight coins represent a massive reduction from the ten thousand that Sutherland had initially envisaged. They certainly failed to earn the Treasury the profit that he had so confidently predicted. Due to the 'very small number of crown pieces ordered the cost per piece was necessarily high'; artist's fees and work on the die cost over three shillings per coin.⁵⁹ One immediate question that was never satisfactorily resolved was whether the crown was intended as 'a commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi', as Coates had originally suggested in April 1934, or whether it would serve as the largest, highest value and most prestigious value coin of a complete set of distinctive New Zealand silver denominations.⁶⁰ In an article published in the *New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, Michael Humble claimed that it was 'not surprising' that so few coins were struck: 'Not only were there few coin collectors in New Zealand (the membership of the Numismatic Society was 110 at this time), but the country was in the middle of the Depression and few people had spare money to buy souvenir coin sets'.⁶¹ The price of loose crowns at 7s. 6d. apiece represented a fifty per cent premium on face value, while the 365 proof sets of 1935 silver coins cost a relatively steep 18s. 6d. mounted on cardboard and 25s. encased in leather. Yet the argument of unaffordability is not entirely convincing. By late 1935, New Zealand had emerged from the worst of the Depression. Although the incoming Labour Government has traditionally taken credit for this achievement, revisionist history has stressed Coates's underrated role in preparing the ground for economic recovery.⁶²

Instead, I would argue that aesthetic responses to the coin – or rather the lack of them – were a major explanatory factor. Sutherland's belief that the potential visual attractiveness of such a coin would stimulate demand was surely right; but this could apply in reverse were the actual product disappointing. Furthermore, with the death of George V on 20 January 1936, which coincided almost exactly with its arrival in New Zealand, the coin – at least on its obverse side – had become instantly obsolescent. Press interest in it was in any case minimal. A single illustration of the crown, with a brief descriptive caption, appeared in Wellington's morning newspaper, the *Dominion* in January 1936, but there is little or no further recorded coverage elsewhere.⁶³ Perhaps this illustrates apathy rather than antipathy. Anecdotal evidence from the (later Royal) Numismatic Society of New Zealand's oldest surviving member,

⁵⁶ PRO MINT 20/1266, H.G. Williams to A.D. Park, 7 February 1936 (copy). In a draft letter to Johnson, Sutherland confirmed that 'naturally it was a shock to receive them loose jingling in a bag like ordinary currency... I endeavoured to quieten complaint by insuring [sic] [New Zealand Numismatic Society] members that some misunderstanding had occurred and that you and the Treasury were not to blame'. (Allan Sutherland archives, 24 April 1936).

⁵⁷ PRO MINT 20/1266, W. Perry to Mackay, 6 April 1936 (copy).

⁵⁸ PRO MINT 20/1266, C.F. Barrett, memorandum, 28 May 1936.

⁵⁹ PRO MINT 20/1266, C.F. Barrett, memorandum, 28 May 1936.

⁶⁰ PRO MINT 20/1266, Coates to Wilford, memorandum, 13 April 1934 (copy).

⁶¹ Humble 1992, 15.

⁶² Bassett 1995, 193–212.

⁶³ *Dominion*, 25 January 1936.

George Barr (b. 1916), recalls his friend John Lawson, a Bank of New Zealander teller, being instructed to sell five crown pieces. Saving one for himself, Lawson targeted public houses in the Wairarapa, where the response was lukewarm.⁶⁴ The paucity of requests from the Reserve Bank of New Zealand for specimen crown pieces during the late 1930s and early 1940s lends further support to this argument. By contrast, the 1940 commemorative half-crown (Fig. 10), which had a minting of 100,800, rapidly disappeared from circulation into coin collections. Its availability at face value doubtless contributed to this. Significantly, its design by Berry's friendly rival Leonard Cornwall Mitchell – with adaptations by Metcalfe – while somewhat finicky, is far prettier than that of its bigger, elder and scarcer sibling.⁶⁵ The relative aesthetic mediocrity of the crown probably did little to make it coveted for a number of years yet. The value of 'this beautiful specimen of the Numismatic Art', as E.J. Arlow described it in the *New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, stood at a fairly modest £30 in 1960.⁶⁶ Comparing it with equivalent Canadian and American silver coins, Arlow implied that the crown's rarity should make it command a far higher price. History has subsequently vindicated him; by 1984, the coin enjoyed a catalogue value of \$NZ 4,000 (£1,700)⁶⁷ and one graded as extremely fine fetched \$NZ 8,750 just before the time of writing.⁶⁸



Fig. 10. L.C. Mitchell and Percy Metcalfe, 1940 half-crown (diameter 32 mm).

A numismatic embarrassment?

In the short term, response to the crown and its design appears to have been one of ill-concealed embarrassment, which was felt by all major players. Metcalfe, as stated above, disliked it. References to the coin in the recorded minutes of the New Zealand Numismatic Society were few. Pointedly, a few weeks after its arrival, 'The design of the Crown piece was not discussed' at the March 1936 meeting.⁶⁹ In October, the architect and numismatist Percy Watts Rule contrasted what he called the 'excellent' lower denominations with 'the only disappointment in the N.Z. set ... the Crown piece (the only one not by Kruger Gray). The flat wooden figures might be historic, but they were not artistic'.⁷⁰ Sutherland echoed these comments in a letter to Johnson: 'The final result is pleasing and historic, but I cannot help thinking that Mr. Metcalfe was not happy with the composite design. It is certainly not his best work, but admittedly he had to please others' – Sutherland included.⁷¹ In response, while he

⁶⁴ George Barr, interviewed by Mark Stocker, 20 January 2010.

⁶⁵ For the half-crown see Sutherland 1941, 278–9; Hargreaves 1972, 155–6.

⁶⁶ E.J.A. 1960, 291.

⁶⁷ J.N.L. Searle, 'The Money in Our Pockets', in Tye 1984, 143. Searle considerably exaggerates Berry's role in the design of the final product.

⁶⁸ <http://www.trademe.co.nz/Antiques-collectables/Coins/New-Zealand-Predecimal/Crowns/auction-259011295.htm> (accessed 23 December 2009).

⁶⁹ Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand 2005, 27th meeting, 19 March 1936.

⁷⁰ Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand 2005, 34th meeting, 19 October 1936.

⁷¹ Allan Sutherland Papers, Sutherland to Johnson, 24 April 1936 (copy).

defended Metcalfe as 'a very skilful artist and full of invention', Johnson admitted that 'The design of the New Zealand Crown was, as you surmise, not really sympathetic to him; indeed, most of us thought the standing figures unsuitable for a coin, and I doubt whether any other artist would have ultimately made a better job of it'.⁷² Five years later, in his *Numismatic History of New Zealand*, Sutherland reiterated how 'It was unfortunate that Mr. Kruger Gray was not commissioned to complete the series, in order to retain unity of treatment'.⁷³

Yet some good perhaps did emerge out of the 1935 Waitangi crown. Its long delay acted as an incentive for the future halfpenny, penny and commemorative half-crown to be planned 'sufficiently far ahead to enable the best designers to compete, and to enable the coin to be issued in good time for the Centennial celebrations'.⁷⁴ Sutherland used the coin as a basis for an article in the *New Zealand School Journal*, in which he explained the significance of 'the joining together, under the crown, of the Maori and British races', using a vocabulary eminently characteristic of the period. As a passionate advocate of decimalisation, Sutherland furthermore suggested that 'it would be a comparatively easy matter to adapt our present silver coins for use in a crown-cent decimal system'.⁷⁵ That, however, is another story.

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⁷² PRO MINT 20/1266, Johnson to Sutherland, 18 June 1936 (copy).

⁷³ Sutherland 1941, 276–7.

⁷⁴ Allan Sutherland Archive, Sutherland to J.W. Heenan, 12 September 1936.

⁷⁵ Allan Sutherland Archive, Sutherland, 'The New Zealand Crown Piece. Commemorating Treaty of Waitangi', typed MS., undated [1936].

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENQUIRY INTO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BURY ST EDMUNDS MINT

MARTIN ALLEN

IN the seventeenth century Sir William Dugdale published the Latin text of a thirteenth-century enquiry into the operation of the Bury St Edmunds mint which provides a unique insight into the administration of an English ecclesiastical mint.¹ It has been mentioned in two publications on the Bury St Edmunds mint and a survey of ecclesiastical mints in the thirteenth century, but it has never been published in translation or discussed in detail.² It is the purpose of this note to rectify these omissions.

The mint enquiry is on folio 219^r of the *Liber albus* (White Book) of Bury St Edmunds Abbey (British Library Harley MS 1005). Rodney Thomson has analysed the complex history of the *Liber albus*, which was originally compiled in the 1260s or 1270s by binding copies of two earlier Bury St Edmunds chronicles (Jocelin of Brakelond and the *Electio Hugonis*) with a new chronicle known as the *Gesta Sacristarum*, a collection of memoranda on the administration of the abbey, and treatises on accounting and estate management. Thomson argued that this compilation was probably made for the personal use of Robert Russel, who was the prior of the abbey from 1258 to 1280.³ The volume in its present form includes numerous additions and annotations made at various times until the fifteenth century, but the mint enquiry is part of the original compilation of the 1260s or 1270s.⁴ It is of course possible that the text of the enquiry was originally composed much earlier than this.⁵ I argued in 2001 that the enquiry might have been connected with the reopening of the Bury St Edmunds mint in 1215, and Robin Eaglen has suggested that it was probably made during the king's leasing of the Bury St Edmunds exchange in 1223–30, but it contains internal evidence which indicates that it should be probably be dated to 1256–58.⁶

In the text of the enquiry the exchanger takes 6d. for the exchange of one pound, which was the standard rate of seigniorage until 1279, and an extra 2d. is struck from each pound of silver over and above 240d., which is the 'increment' normal in mint accounts from the 1250s to 1278. An increment also appears in mint accounts between 1234 and 1247, but the metrolology of the Short Cross coinage of 1180–1247 indicates that more than 242d. was struck from a pound of silver before the introduction of the Long Cross coinage in 1247.⁷ A question as to who will answer for the moneyer and his staff elicits the response that 'R' will speak and give satisfaction for all. This 'R' could have been Randulf le Blund, the moneyer from 1252 to 1258, or Reginald FitzHenry, his successor from 1258 to an unknown date before 1265.⁸

Acknowledgements. I have greatly benefited from the advice of Prof. T.V. Buttrey on the translation of the text of the enquiry and from the comments of Dr Robin Eaglen on a draft of this article. Dr Antonia Gransden has given advice on the dating of the enquiry and David Palmer has provided invaluable information concerning the coins of the Bury St Edmunds moneyer Stephane.

¹ British Library, Harley MS 1005, fol. 219^r; Dugdale 1846, III, 164.

² Allen 1999, 211 n. 12, 212; Eaglen 2006, 148; Allen 2001c, 115.

³ Thomson 1980, 17–19, 33–4, 142–5.

⁴ Thomson 1980, 144.

⁵ Gransden 2007, 241.

⁶ Allen 2001c, 115; Eaglen 2006, 148. Eaglen 2006, 147, dates the end of the lease of the exchange to 1229, because the last payment was for the Michaelmas term of 1229 (*Calendar of Liberale Rolls 1226–1240*, 148), but the agreement was formally ended on 25 February 1230, when Abbot Richard de Insula was granted a die and an exchange (*Close Rolls 1227–1231*, 299).

⁷ Blunt and Brand 1970, 62–3; Mayhew 1992, 105, 132–3; Allen 1999, 210–11; Allen 2005b.

⁸ Eaglen 2006, 177, 179.

The moneyer is to render the profits of the mint on whatever day of the year the king wishes, and he must give the king £5 (*per annum* presumably), which clearly implies that the enquiry was conducted during one of the two periods in the 1250s and 1260s when the temporalities of Bury St Edmunds Abbey were in the king's hands. The first period of royal administration was in the vacancy caused by the death of Abbot Edmund of Walpole on 31 December 1256. Two successive keepers subsequently administered the temporalities until 12 January 1258.⁹ The second period was during Henry III's confiscation of the Liberty of Bury St Edmunds in 1262–65. The Liberty was ordered to be taken into the king's hands on 7 March 1262, and a keeper was appointed, but the confiscation was subsequently deferred until after the king's return to England from France, which occurred on 20 December 1262.¹⁰ The Liberty was restored on 24 September 1265, and a formal restitution of the abbey's right to a die followed on 27 October 1265.¹¹

It has been suggested that the Bury St Edmunds moneyer Stephane, who succeeded Reginald FitzHenry and was in turn replaced by John de Burnedisse in January 1265, must have ceased production no later than the beginning of the confiscation of the Liberty in 1262.¹² There is reason to believe, however, that Stephane replaced Reginald FitzHenry during the confiscation and not before it. The Brussels hoard, the English element of which was closed in about 1264 or 1265, had eighty-four recorded coins of Reginald FitzHenry (Renaud on the coins) to six of Stephane. If Stephane's output had ended no later than 1262 one might expect a more equal distribution between the two moneyers, because there are six pairs of dies recorded for Renaud and exactly the same number for Stephane (only two or perhaps three of which were represented in the Brussels hoard).¹³ An exchequer memorandum from the Michaelmas term of 1264 records the exchange of an old pair of dies from the Bury St Edmunds mint for a new pair, and it must be concluded that the dies involved were Stephane's.¹⁴ The presentation of John de Burnedisse at the exchequer as Stephane's replacement on 29 January 1265, together with a new assayer and a die-keeper, is further evidence that the mint was active between 1262 and the restoration of the dies to the abbey's control on 27 October 1265.¹⁵

The statement in the text of the enquiry that the moneyer must pay the king 100s. (£5) of new money seems to imply that the enquiry was made in the vacancy of 1256–58 and not during the confiscation of 1262–65, because this is the same amount as the annual farm paid by London and Canterbury moneyers from 1255 to early in 1262. This system was terminated at about the same time as the appointment of two new wardens of the London and Canterbury mints in January 1262, some months before the beginning of the confiscation.¹⁶

The record of the enquiry consists of a series of twenty-four questions and answers, which are numbered for ease of reference in the transcript and translation below. After the first item establishes that the moneyer will speak for all of the staff of the mint, the enquiry deals with each level of the mint's hierarchy in turn: the moneyer (items 2–7), the exchanger (8–11), the assayer (12–18), the die-keepers (19–21), the workmen (22) and their boys (23). The names of the moneyer, the assayer and two die-keepers were recorded in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Rolls in 1217/18 and 1221/2.¹⁷ In 1278 a new moneyer, assayer and die-keeper were presented at the exchequer to take their oaths of office, and on various occasions between 1252 and 1277 there were presentations to one or two of these three offices.¹⁸

⁹ *Calendar of Liberale Rolls 1251–1260*, 361; *Close Rolls 1256–1259*, 85–6, 214; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, 612; Eaglen 2006, 164–5, 179–80.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, 204; *Close Rolls 1261–1264*, 37, 163; Eaglen 2006, 166 n.46.

¹¹ *Close Rolls 1264–1268*, 134; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1258–1266*, 471; Eaglen 2006, 166–7, 180.

¹² Eaglen 2006, 180.

¹³ Eaglen 2006, 188, 322–5, recording five pairs of dies for Stephane. A sixth pair of dies has now been found (pers. comm. David Palmer).

¹⁴ TNA: PRO, E 368/39, rot. 1.

¹⁵ TNA: PRO, E 368/40, rot. 6d; Eaglen 2006, 180.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, 456, 468, 506, 539; Mayhew 1992, 116–20.

¹⁷ TNA: PRO, E 368/1, rot. 5, E 364/4, rot. 4d, Brand 1964, 66; Brand 1994, 49; Eaglen 2006, 139, 147–8.

¹⁸ TNA: PRO, E 159/31, rot. 15; E 159/51, rot. 3d., 5d; E 368/26, rot. 8, E 368/26, rot. 2d; E 368/33, rot. 18; E 368/40, rot. 6d; E 368/43, rot. 2d; E 368/50, rot. 1d., 5; Fox and Fox 1910, 129; Allen 1999, 211 n.10; Eaglen 2006, 177, 179–81.

A Bury St Edmunds mint account of 1250 includes a payment to the die-keepers, an account of 1256–58 has payments in cash or kind to the moneyer, the die-keepers and the mint servants, and a third account from an unknown year between 1268 and 1276 shows payments to the moneyer, the assayer, two die-keepers, four servants and five boys.¹⁹ None of the accounts or exchequer presentations includes an exchanger, although four of the enquiry's questions concern this official. One possible explanation of this apparent anomaly is that the questions were compiled by someone with knowledge of the organization of the royal mints, which included exchangers as well as assayers, and that the offices of exchanger and assayer were combined in the Bury St Edmunds mint.²⁰

The enquiry shows that the moneyer's authority over his staff was absolute, at least in theory. He could sit in judgement and punish with imprisonment, fine, dismissal or beating (5–7, 22). Presumably beating was reserved for the workmen and their boys, and the boys were to be kept in 'fear and trembling' (23). We cannot know to what extent these coercive measures were applied in practice.

The exchanger, or the assayer acting as exchanger, is second in command to the moneyer (8), and he takes custody of the profits of the mint each day (4). He charges a seigniorage of 6d. for the exchange of one pound (10), and is expected to make an additional profit of 1d. (11). This extra profit may have been derived from skilful manipulation of the calculation of payments to mint customers.

The assayer is paid 1d. for an assay (13), and silver is assayed in consignments of about thirty-one pounds (14). The surviving roll of assays from the Shrewsbury mint in 1249–50 records the bullion received in standard units of thirty-one pounds, and one of the two consignments of silver in the Bury St Edmunds mint account of 1268–76 registered in the moneyer's own name was of exactly that amount. Thirty-one pounds may have been a convenient quantity for one firing of an assayer's furnace.²¹ If the assayer finds that new coins are too fine or debased they have to be remelted at the expense of the moneyer (16), but the owner of the bullion shall have any profit or loss caused by deviations from the standard that are not corrected (18). Attempts at fraud by the owners of silver shall result in the withholding of the coins made from it (17).

The die-keepers receive 12d. for every 100 pounds of silver struck, which was the normal rate from no later than 1220 to 1279 (19),²² and they have 6s. 8d. as their expenses when they are sent to London to obtain dies (20). The dies cost 6d. each (21), which differs from the rates documented after the coinage reforms of 1279. The London and Canterbury mint accounts of 1281–1327 record costs of 2s. per dozen (2d. each) to make new dies and fees of 7s. per dozen (7d. per die) paid to the hereditary engraver.²³ The charge of 6d. per die does, however, correspond with the rate paid in 1425–27 for dies supplied to the Calais mint.²⁴

APPENDIX

Text of the enquiry

Note: Abbreviations have been silently expanded when their meaning is unambiguous. The capitalization of the original text has been retained.

Ista inquirenda sunt de hiis qui administracionem habent in monetaria

- | | |
|--|---|
| [1.] De monetario et hiis que pertinent ad eum | Pro aliis R dit et satisfacit |
| [2.] Quo pacto administratur | Dat domino Regi C sol. scilicet de novo |

¹⁹ British Library, Harley MS 645, fol. 260v; Allen 1999, 211–13.

²⁰ Johnson 1956, 51–2, published the text and a translation of a contemporary description of the duties of royal mint officials, including the exchanger, in the Long Cross recoinage of 1247–50. Allen 2005a analyses payments to the exchangers, clerks and die-keepers of ten provincial mints in this recoinage.

²¹ Brand 1971, 131; Allen 1999, 211–12.

²² Johnson 1956, xxvi, 52; Blunt and Brand 1970, 62; Brand 1994, 40, 43, 45–6. Brand notes that the payment was 6d. per 100 pounds from 7 July to 8 Aug. 1234.

²³ Mate 1969, 208.

²⁴ TNA: PRO, E 364/60, rot. 7d.; Allen 2007, 197.

[3.]	Quoties per annum reddit proficuum	Omni die pro voluntate Regis
[4.]	Quibus temporibus et cui reddit	Illo die quo fabrificat et cambiatori
[5.]	Qua libertate alius precellit	Tenet judicium et justiciam de aliis
[6.]	Que potestas eius circa operarios	Secundum delicta punire et amovere
[7.]	Qualiter punit delinquentes	Virga depositio carcere bursa
[8.]	De eschambiatore	Qui secundus post monetarium
[9.]	De sumptibus suis	Ut melius et sumptu minori
[10.]	Si recipit xx sol. minus vj d.	Nunquam minus vj d. xx sol.
[11.]	Qualiter salvet se in vj denarii	Bene quia semper in xx sol. lucrabitur j d.
[12.]	De assaiatore	Poterit amoveri et deponi pro voluntate
[13.]	Quantum capit pro uno assay	j d. sed nunquam plus
[14.]	Si in xxxij libris facit assay	In minori et majori
[15.]	Pondus xx s. quantum per numerum	ij d. et quod plus est a malo
[16.]	Pro qua quantitate vel minoritate debet iterum fundi	Argentum bonit' super sumptibus monetarii
[17.]	Si deceptus in accipiendo argentum	Distringend' pretia mercat'
[18.]	Cuius erit dampnum vel proficuum	Recipiencium et liberancium
[19.]	De custodibus quo pacto	In centena xij d.
[20.]	Quantum percipiunt in quirendo cuneum	Dimidiam marcam de monetario
[21.]	Quantum pro ferro	vj denarii
[22.]	De operariis magistris	Semper sub virga monetarii
[23.]	De garcionibus eorundem	Semper in timore et tremore
[24.]	De consuetudinibus et libertatibus	Secundum libertates antiquas H ²⁵

Translation of the enquiry

These are the matters to be enquired into concerning those who have administration in the mint.

- [1.] Concerning the moneyer and those who pertain to him.
R[andulf le Blund?] speaks and gives satisfaction for the others.
- [2.] By what agreement is the mint administered?
The moneyer gives 100*s.* to the lord king, namely in new money.
On every day the king wishes.
- [3.] How many times a year does he render the profit?
On every day that he strikes coins, and to the exchanger.
- [4.] At what times and to whom does he render the profit?
He holds judgement and exercises justice concerning the others.
- [5.] By what liberty does he preside over the others?
To punish and dismiss according to their offence.
With the rod, dismissal, imprisonment and fine.
- [6.] What is his power as regards the workmen?
He is second after the moneyer.
[He ensures] that they are better and of less expense [than might be].
- [7.] In what way does he punish delinquents?
Never less than 6*d.* for 20*s.*
- [8.] Concerning the exchanger.
He does it well, because there will always be a profit of 1*d.* in 20*s.*
- [9.] Concerning his expenditures.
He can be removed and dismissed at will.
1*d.* but never more.
More or less.
- [10.] Whether he receives less than 6*d.* for the exchange of 20*s.*
Half a mark from the moneyer.
6*d.*
- [11.] In what way does he make a saving in the [charging of] 6*d.*?
Always under the rod of the moneyer.
- [12.] Concerning the assayer.
12*d.* for 100 pounds of silver.
- [13.] How much does he take for an assay?
Always in fear and trembling.
- [14.] Whether he makes an assay of thirty-one pounds of silver
According to the ancient liberties.
- [15.] How much is the weight of 20*s.* by tale?
The merchant's money is to be withheld.
- [16.] For what excess or deficiency ought the silver to be melted again?
Of those who receive and deliver the silver.
- [17.] If he is deceived in receiving silver?
12*d.* for 100 pounds of silver.
- [18.] Whose shall be the loss or profit?
Always in fear and trembling.
- [19.] Concerning the die-keepers, by what agreed payment?
According to the ancient liberties.
- [20.] How much do they take for obtaining the dies?
Always in fear and trembling.
- [21.] How much for a die?
According to the ancient liberties.
- [22.] Concerning the moneyer's workmen.
According to the ancient liberties.
- [23.] Concerning their boys.
According to the ancient liberties.
- [24.] Concerning the customs and liberties.
According to the ancient liberties.

²⁵ The meaning of the 'H' is uncertain.

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THE DIE AXIS OF PENNIES FROM HENRY II TO EDWARD I

R.J. EAGLEN

IT is nearly sixty years since Michael Dolley demonstrated that the die axis of late Anglo-Saxon pennies generally corresponded with the four main points of the compass.¹ This implied that the dies were square in section to give rise to such consistency. The use of flat-sided dies continued after the Norman Conquest, although a surviving obverse die from Stephen's first (Watford) type, now in the Museum of London, is hexagonal rather than square in section.² It has also been tacitly accepted that at an undefined date die axes became random, arising from flat-sided dies being superseded by circular ones. This change would have helped to speed up the rate of striking coins but, unless care was still taken, the reverses were liable to be struck off-centre. To the best knowledge of the writer, no one has taken the trouble to demonstrate that this change actually took place, and to consider when.

The *SCBI* series contains copious information on die axes for the period from Henry II to Edward I, but their value is limited for two reasons. Firstly, the earlier volumes recorded the axes by arrows, thereby lacking precision and, perhaps, paying unwitting homage to the practice recognised in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman period. Secondly, even where the axes are given in degrees (to an accuracy of 5°) the very obvious variations in die axis are not conclusive of randomness unless the coins being compared were struck from the same pair of dies.

Acknowledgements. The writer wishes to thank the following who contributed during the preparation of this paper: Dr Martin Allen, Edward Baldwin, Ron Churchill, Dr Kevin Clancy, Dr Barrie Cook, Dr Tim Crafter, Glen Gittoes, David Palmer and Bob Thomas.

¹ Dolley 1952–54.

² Andrew 1934–37.

The writer's die studies of the output at Bury St Edmunds enable this deficiency to be addressed.³ Tables 1 to 4 below show the results from sufficiently well-represented identical die combinations in the Tealby, Short Cross, Long Cross and Robert de Hadeleie (Edward I)

TABLE 1. Tealby (Cross and Crosslets) coinage, Bury.

Type A2, Willem (Eaglen 53, dies Dd) (1158)	source	die axis (°)	±45°
Hocking 328 (a)		15	+15
BMC 45		30	+30
SED 465 (b)		0	0
BMC 46		20	+20
BMC 47		295	+25
BMC 48		90	0
BNJ 62, 227		165	-15
T. Crafter		190	+10
SED 28 (b)		310	+40

Type B1, Henri (Eaglen 60, dies Kk) (1161 or later)	source	die axis (°)	±45°
BMC 19		325	-35
BMC 20		170	-10
SED 21 (b)		350	-10
BMC 21		265	-5
BMC 22		105	+15
Hocking 331 (a)		340	-20
T. Crafter		0	0
BMC 23		300	+30

(a) Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant
(b) D. Palmer collection

TABLE 2. Short cross coinage, Bury.

Type Vb1, Fulke (Eaglen 82, dies Ab) (1205)	source	die axis (°)	±45°
Fitzwilliam Museum (1.47 g)		115	+25
G. Gittoes (1.45 g)		30	+30
BM (Colchester, 999)		320	-40
SCBI Glasgow, 384		40	+40
SED 743 (a)		40	+40
G. Gittoes (0.62 g, ½d.)		335	-25

Type VIIa B – CI, Willem (Eaglen 128, dies Cc) (1217)	source	die axis (°)	±45°
BM (Eccles 420)		315	±45
SCBI Mass, 1969		300	+30
Fitzwilliam Museum (1.42 g)		260	-10
BM (Colchester, 1031)		185	+5
G. Gittoes (1.40 g)		10	+10
BM (Colchester, 1027)		255	-15
G. Gittoes (1.37 g)		225	±45
G. Gittoes (1.28 g)		15	+15
SCBI East Anglian Museums, 1511		285	+15
SED 937 (a)		105	+15

(a) D. Palmer collection

³ Eaglen 2006.

TABLE 3. Long Cross coinage, Bury.

Type IIb, Ion (Eaglen 255, dies Aa) (1248)	weight, g	die axis (°)	±45°
	1.46	270	0
	1.36	350	-10
	1.27	185	+5
	1.27	135	±45
	1.21	350	-10

Type IIIbc, Ion (Eaglen 269, dies Bb) (1250)	weight, g	die axis (°)	±45°
	1.50	50	-40
	1.49	215	+35
	1.42	150	-30
	1.41	45	±45
	1.40	140	-40
	1.39	65	-25
	1.36	155	-25
	1.32	10	+10
	1.32	260	-10

Type Vb/a3 mule, Randulf (Eaglen 305, dies Aa) (1252)	weight, g	die axis (°)	±45°
	1.50	140	-40
	1.47	260	-10
	1.46	220	+40
	1.45	0	0
	1.41	345	-15
	1.38	0	0
	1.36	85	-5
	1.36	25	+25
	1.35	290	+20
	1.20	195	+15

Type Vf, Randulf (Eaglen 324, dies Bb) (1258)

Type Vf, Randulf (Eaglen 324, dies Bb) (1258)	weight, g	die axis (°)	±45°
	1.47	280	+10
	1.44	270	0
	1.44	25	+25
	1.44	240	-30
	1.43	45	±45
	1.42	270	0
	1.41	140	-40
	1.40	135	±45

TABLE 4. Edward I (Robert de Hadeleie), Bury.

Type 3c (Tatler dies Bb1, BNJ 68, 67) (1280)	source	die axis (°)	±45°
	BM (1.42 g)	120	+30
	B1034 (1.42 g) (a)	300	+30
	B264 (1.39 g) (a)	260	-10
	B391 (1.32 g) (a)	5	+5
	Fitzwilliam Museum (1.26 g)	150	-30
	B905 (1.00 g) (a)	190	+10
	SED 226 (0.96 g) (b)	150	-30

(a) R. Eaglen collection
(b) D. Palmer collection

issues.⁴ The source of the coins included in Tables 1, 2 and 4 are indicated in the Tables. The Long Cross coins in Table 3 are from the Brussels hoard (1909), owned by Baldwin's. Any weights included in the first column of the Tables are purely for identification purposes. The second column shows the die axis of each coin to the nearest 5°. The third column shows the axis of the cross limb closest to the zero (0°) position. The resulting spread of up to ± 45° from 0°, enables the variation in axis to be seen more clearly.

From the foregoing it is clear that any attempt to produce coins with a regular die axis had been abandoned by the Tealby coinage. With more plentiful die duplicates than are available from Bury prior to the reign of Henry II it should be possible to pinpoint exactly when this change occurred.⁵

To conclude, the method used by the writer for measuring the above die axes is described below.⁶

- (1) The coin is placed in a clear plastic coin envelope, open on two adjoining sides, marked with a matching horizontal line on each side of the envelope from the centre of a closed side to the centre of the opposite open side;
- (2) The coin is so aligned that the bust is equally dissected from top to bottom by the line on the envelope;
- (3) The envelope is then turned laterally and placed with the reverse uppermost on a circular template;
- (4) The template is in the form of a sunburst, with radiating lines at 5° intervals from the central pivot. At the centre a circle is inscribed, slightly larger than the diameter of the coins to be measured. The lines representing 0°–180° and 90°–270° are bolder than the rest;
- (5) The die axis is read off using a clear plastic straight edge or ruler;
- (6) If the reverse of the coin is off-centre its position has to be adjusted so that the centre of the cross corresponds with the pivot of the sunburst, using the bold 0°–180° and 90°–270° as a guide;
- (7) If any realignment under (6) is not correctly made this will be evident because the reading on the far side of the sunburst will not show a 180° difference from the axis reading being taken.

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⁴ The die duplications in Table 4 derive from the writer's as yet unpublished die study of Edwardian Sterlings struck at Bury.

⁵ Die studies of individual coin types, as exemplified by Dr Allen's work on Stephen, type 7 (Allen 2006) and Henry I, type 14 (Allen 2009) are a potentially valuable resource.

⁶ A somewhat similar method was described by Goddard (1981; corrigendum 1982).

THE MONKNASH FIND AND OTHER FOREIGN MEDIEVAL COINS FROM SOUTH WALES

EDWARD BESLY

THIS small hoard was found on 21 September 2002 by Steve McGrory, using a metal detector on farmland at Monknash, in the Vale of Glamorgan. The coins were slightly scattered in topsoil within an area of a few square metres. The find was declared treasure at inquest in Cardiff on 20 December 2002 and has been acquired by the National Museum of Wales.¹

The coins

England

Edward III (1327–77)

1. Penny, Durham mint, Series Gc, c.1356–61; North 1217/Allen 130; some wear, 1.26 g. (Fig. 1.1)

Leon and Castile

Enrique II de Trastamara (1368–79)

2. Cruzado, Burgos; 1.71 g. Cayon 1278. (Fig. 1.2)

Obv. []RICVS : REX : LEGIONI : , crowned bust l.; B in field, r.
Rev. +EN[]VS : RE- X : CASTELL : , cross, E – N – R – I in quarters
3. Cruzado, Villalon; 2.25 g. Cayon 1293. (Fig. 1.3)

Obv. ENRICVS REX CASTELL[] , similar to 2; V in field, r.
Rev. ENRICVS [] ; similar to 2; E – N – R – I
4. Cruzado, counterfeit; 0.85 g. Type as Cayon 1278ff. (Fig. 1.4)

Obv. []JVS REX [] , similar, weakly struck
Rev. []LEGIONI , similar, weakly struck
5. Real de ½ maravedi, uncertain mint, 1369–73; 2.39 g. cf. Cayon 1250–60. (Fig. 1.5)

Obv. []REX CA[]ELLE [] , crowned bust, facing
Rev. []ENRICVS : REX : CASTELL [] , quarterly castle (1,4), rampant lion l. (2,3)

The Spanish coins are all of highly-debased billon (of the order of 25% silver)² and would have had no place in circulation in England and Wales; they are most unusual finds here. Barrie Cook has listed records of continental medieval coins from England; at that time only three Spanish coins of the fourteenth century were recorded, none of them Enrique II, and three from the fifteenth.³ The collection in Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales, however, includes two specimens of cruzados of Enrique II, found at Llantwit Major, a few miles from Monknash, and in excavations at Cardiff Castle. Recently, two further specimens have turned up, at Marcross and St Donat's, both close to Monknash (see Appendix, 13–16). A blanca nueva of Juan II (1406–54) was found in excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars (App., 17) and a blanca de 2 maravedis of Enrique IV (1454–74) is recorded from Cardiff Greyfriars (App., 18).

Looking more broadly at foreign medieval coins recorded from South Wales (Appendix), it will be seen that these mirror in miniature the main types found in England: double patares, Venetian soldini, even one Portuguese chinfrao, with the occasional oddity (Teutonic

¹ Accession number 2003.21H/1–5. *TAR* 2002, p.142, no. 224. I would like to thank Barrie Cook, British Museum, for help identifying these Spanish coins and no. 18 in the Appendix.

² Semi-quantitative surface analyses of nos 3 and 5 suggested silver contents of 29% and 27% Ag, respectively (and hence potential treasure status under the 1996 Act). Elemental compositions determined by Mary Davis using a CamScan MaXim 2040 analytical Scanning Electron Microscope with low-vacuum chamber, plus Oxford Instruments Link Isis energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer.

³ Cook 1999. Two further Spanish coins have since been recorded: a barbuda of Ferdinand I as pretender to the kingdom of Castile (1367–83), found in 2007 at Mattishall, Norfolk (CR 2008, 361). A billon dinero of Enrique IV found in 2003 at Phillack, Cornwall, is recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme as CORN-EDCA85.



Fig. 1. Coins from the Monkash hoard.

knights, Genoa).⁴ There is, however, one dramatic difference: the Portuguese copper ceitils of the fifteenth century, recorded from very few English contexts,⁵ but found widely across south Wales. These must surely relate to strong trading links between this area and the Iberian peninsula, evidenced by finds from the likes of Tenby, Swansea and Caerleon (then still a significant port), though again these coins would have found no formal place in currency in Wales. The only coins relating to its working life from the ship of the 1450s–60s found in Newport in 2002 were Portuguese coppers: a real preto of Duarte I (1433–38) and three ceitils of Afonso V (1438–81).⁶ The finding of late fourteenth- and fifteenth century Spanish coins may therefore also relate to trading connections with south-east Wales.

There is, potentially, another feasible context for the emerging ‘Vale of Glamorgan’ cluster of late fourteenth-century coins from Leon and Castile. Monkash is the site of an important grange belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Neath, one of the largest monastic farms in Glamorgan. There may therefore be a religious connection, the coins perhaps souvenirs of pilgrimage to the Kingdom of Leon and its most famous shrine, Santiago de Compostella – akin in modern terms to the useless foreign change left over from foreign holidays in the pre-Euro period.

APPENDIX. SINGLE FINDS OF FOREIGN MEDIEVAL COINS IN SOUTH WALES

The following list summarises those foreign medieval coins, excluding sterling imitations, known to the writer to have been found in South Wales – in terms of the 1972 counties, Dyfed: Pembrokeshire (P), Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire (Cm); Glamorgan: West, Mid, South (WG, MG, SG) and Gwent (Gw). Together, these counties have provided the vast majority of all coin finds recorded from Wales since 1986, latterly through the mechanism of the voluntary Portable Antiquities Scheme. To these have been added provenanced coins in the National Museum of Wales collection and those recorded from archaeological excavations. Where no reference is given, the coin has been recorded at NMW since 1986.

The list is intended to place these finds on record, complementing Cook’s (1999) list for England; there is a small amount of duplication where Cook’s use of Coin Register entries has led to a slightly flexible definition of ‘England’.

France, Royal

- Philip II (1180–1223), denier parisis, Arras, Duplessy 168; Cowbridge area (Penllyn?), SG [*Treasure Hunting*, April 1998, 58]

⁴ These two coins were included in Cook’s ‘England’ list as nos 259 and 266.

⁵ E.g., South Devon (Cook no. 289); London, Vintry, one example (Kelleher and Leins 2008, no. 1189).

⁶ Identified by the writer, as yet unpublished. A further coin was discovered during post-excavation work – a billon petit blanc of Louis, Dauphin de Vienois, struck at Crémieu between 1445 and 1456. This mint-fresh coin had been set into the inboard face of the keel, at its junction with the stem post.

2. Louis VIII–IX (1223–66), denier tournois; Cowbridge, SG [NMW 80.33H]
3. Philip III or IV (1270–1314), denier tournois à l’O rond, L.228; Dryslwyn Castle, Cm [Besly 2007]
4. Charles V (1364–80), franc à pied; Ogmore by Sea, MG [NMW77.51H]
5. Charles V, franc à pied, Southerndown, MG⁷ [CR 1996, 348]
6. Charles VI (1380–1422), blanc or guénar, L.381; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 30]

France, Feudal

7. Brittany, John IV (1345–99), billon blanc, Nantes; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 31]
8. Brittany, John IV, billon demi-blanc; Chepstow, Gw
9. Brittany, John IV, billon double, Poey d’Avant 1045ff; Caerleon, Gw [NMW 31.78]
10. Brittany, François I (1442–50), billon blanc, Rennes, Poey d’Avant 1198; Mathern, Gw
11. Evreux, Charles le Mauvais (1343–87), sol coronat; Laugharne, Castle, Cm [unpublished excavation]
12. Romorantin, obol, 11th century?, Poey d’Avant 1894; Merthyr Mawr Warren (Candleston Castle), MG [NMW 37.121]

Castile and Leon

13. Enrique II (1368–79), cruzado; Cardiff, Castle [NMW 76.42H]
14. Enrique II, cruzado; Llantwit Major, SG [NMW 67.387]
15. Enrique II, cruzado; Marcross, SG [Coin Register 2008, 360]
16. Enrique II, cruzado, Seville; St Donat’s, SG [found 2009]
17. Juan II (1406–54), blanca nueva, Burgos; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 33]
18. Enrique IV (1454–74), blanca de 2 maravedis, Seville; Cardiff, Greyfriars [NMW 30.197]

Portugal

19. John I (1385–1433), real de 3½ l., Lisbon; Tenby area, P
20. Afonso V (1438–81), chinfrao; Parc Seymour, Gw [Coin Register 2006, 307]
21. Afonso V, real branco; Wrinstone, SG

Portugal, ceitils

- 22–3. John I: Tenby, P (2)
- 24–38. Afonso V: Haverfordwest (2: one from Priory excavations), Pembroke, St Florence, Tenby (3), Wisemans Bridge, ‘Pembrokeshire’ (all P); Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 32]; Swansea Bay, WG; Ogmore, MG; Caerleon (2) [NMW 32.62 and 75.17H], Caldicote (both Gw)
- 39–40. Uncertain: Angle, P; Gower, WG

Venice, soldini

41. Antonio Venier (1382–1400): Pembroke
- 42–9. Michele Steno (1400–13): St Florence, Tenby (both P); Kidwelly, Cm; Ewenny (3), MG; Caerleon [NMW 35.120], Llanover (both Gw)

Italy

50. Genoa, T. Campofregoso (1436–42), petachina; Tenby, P [= Cook 1999, no. 266]

Netherlands

51. Holland, Floris V (1254–96), köpfchen, Dordrecht; Cowbridge area (Penllyn?), SG [*Treasure Hunting April 1998*, 58]
52. Flanders, Charles le Téméraire (1467–77), double gros; Margam, MG

⁷ These two coins perhaps derived from a single original deposit or wreck, though found nearly twenty years apart. Both are coastal finds from a single general locality.

Double patards

53. Brabant, Charles le Téméraire, Louvain: Sageston, P.
54. Brabant, Philippe le Beau (1482–1506), Louvain: Llantrithyd, SG [CR 1999, 145]
- 55–62. Flanders, Charles, Bruges: ‘South Pembrokeshire’; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 35]; Llanddewi, Gower, WG; Ewenny, Rudry [CR 1996, 354] (both MG); St Donat’s, SG (2) [CR 1995, 254 and 2009 find]; Chepstow area, Gw

Other

63. Denmark, Christoph II (1319–32), penny, Sakskøbing; ‘South Wales’⁸
64. Teutonic Knights, uncertain; Burry Holms Island, Gower, WG [= Cook 1999, no. 259]
65. Jerusalem, Baldwin III? (1143–63), denier; Ogmore/Southerndown, MG

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PRIVY MARK ‘SLOT’ ON ROYAL FARTHING TOKENS

R.H. THOMPSON

A recent survey of British manifestations of the Golden Fleece included the Charles I privy mark on copper farthings which Peck tabulated as 29, *Fleece*.¹ Praise for Tim Everson’s line drawings should have added that they are by Paul Withers.² The enlarged photograph of Nigel Clark’s excellent specimen as Fig. 6 did nothing to encourage acceptance of Peck’s *Fleece* identification, but after close examination the best alternative that could be offered was a tentative ‘cloven hoof of a deer, goat or bovine’. The purpose of this present note is to propose that the privy mark should be identified, not as a hoof, but as the impression of a hoof, a hoof-print, or *slot*: ‘The track or trail of an animal, especially a deer, as shown by the marks of the foot; ... hence generally, track, trace, or trail’.³ The word may – perhaps – be more familiar in ‘Slot-hound’, sleuth-hound.

The meaning is recorded from 1575, and was employed by Michael Drayton in his *Polyolbion* of 1612, the same year that the making of farthings was first suggested:

The Huntsman by his Slot, or breaking earth, perceaves ...
Where he hath gone to lodge.⁴

⁸ Found in 1984; identification provided via British Museum.

¹ Thompson 2009, 206; *BMC English Copper* 1964, 27–9, no. 29.

² Everson 2007, 2, 29.

³ *OED* s.v. ‘slot’, *sb.*³

⁴ Drayton 1612, xiii, 115.

Ben Jonson would use the word in the period c.1612–37:

Here's Little John hath harboured you a deer ...
For by his slot, his entries and his port,
His frayings, fewmets, he doth promise sport ...⁵

That is, by his footprint, and other tokens of woodcraft by which the size and weight of a deer may be judged.⁶

These passages are valuable in bringing 'Slot' close to the court circles responsible for the farthings, for Jonson was Poet Laureate, and Drayton had dedicated his poem *Endymion and Phæbe* to Lucy, daughter of Lord Harington who held the first patent for issuing farthing tokens, and herself the holder of the patent from 1616 with the Duke of Lennox.⁷ Moreover, James VI so loved hunting that he indulged it on his journey south from Scotland in 1603, to the extent of delaying his assumption of the English crown. Scaramelli, Venetian secretary in England, reported:

quasi scordatosi d'esser Rè per altro che per esercitar regalmente la caccia di Cervi, in che è perditissimo in eccesso
= 'he seems to have almost forgotten that he is a King except in his kingly pursuit of stags, to which he is quite foolishly devoted'.⁸

Charles I also hunted frequently.⁹

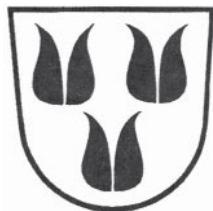


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 from Leonhard (1976) shows that hoof-prints (in the opposite direction of travel) do have a presence in heraldry.¹⁰ The arms, captioned *Hirschschalen* (= 'deer-bowls'), are unlocated, but in Neubecker (1974), Inanimate Objects no. 80, they are attributed to the *Propstei* of Gars in Upper Bavaria, now Gars-am-Inn.¹¹ The arms of that *Propstei* (= Provosty), founded in 764 and suppressed in 1803, are blazoned in Siebmacher merely as *In Silber drei... Seeblätter (?)* (= Water lilies), so the charge is clearly rare.¹²

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⁵ Jonson 1641, I, ii; dates from Harbage 1964, 136.

⁶ Fortescue 1916, 335–6.

⁷ ODNB s.v. Russell, Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts; Everson 2007, 6–7, but omitted from his list of Patent Holders.

⁸ CSPV 10: 1603–1607, 70–71, no. 101.

⁹ ODNB s.v. Charles I (1600–1649).

¹⁰ Leonhard 1976, 225, fig.3, captioned *Hirschschalen*; David Sealy supplied the English 'slot'.

¹¹ Neubecker 1974, 394; the captions are *Rehfährte* = *Passée de chevreuil* = 'Track of roe'.

¹² Siebmacher 1882, 49, and Tafel 70.

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‘PETER’ SKIDMORE: THE MAN WHO NEVER WAS AN ADDENDUM

D.W. DYKES

REFERENCE to the files of *The London Gazette* allows some minor refinement to be made to the history of the Skidmore firm of ironmongers and stove grate makers given on pp. 256–7 of my paper in volume 77 of the *Journal*.¹

The partnership between John Skidmore and his eldest son Meremoth ('No. 123, High-Holborn, and of No. 15, Coppice-Row, Clerkenwell, Stone [sic] Grate-Makers and Ironfounders') was dissolved 'by mutual consent' on 1 February 1809 and subsequently (by 6 February 1810) the business was being continued as a partnership between Meremoth and his brother Gamaliel. John Skidmore's retirement can therefore be firmly dated to February 1809.²

The partnership between Meremoth and Gamaliel Skidmore (now recorded only at 'High-Holborn' as 'Stove-Grate-Manufacturers and Furnishing Ironmongers') was dissolved 'by mutual consent' on 8 May 1815.³

The style of the firm given on p. 257 should be amended to read

- John Skidmore, c.1784–1793
- John Skidmore and Son [John and Meremoth], 1793–1809
- M [Meremoth] and G [Gamaliel] Skidmore, 1809/1810–1815
- G [Gamaliel] Skidmore, 1815–1822
- Susan[nah] Skidmore (Widow of Gamaliel), 1822–c.1824

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¹ Dykes 2007.

² *The London Gazette*, 6–10 February 1810 (no. 16340), 200.

³ *The London Gazette*, 25 July 1815 (no. 17044), 1523.

CAPTAIN HARDY'S AND CAPTAIN BROKE'S REWARD OF MERIT MEDALS

SIM COMFORT

Captain Hardy's Reward of Merit Medal

ON 1 July 1981 Sotheby's held an Orders and Medals auction which contained a highly interesting award given by Captain Hardy to Robert Smith, a midshipman on board *HMS Victory* (Fig. 1).¹ I then knew of three examples of this medal. I became concerned regarding this lot because each man had also received the Naval General Service medal with Trafalgar clasp, and considered that there were very high odds against this happening. The late Virginia Medlen and I both collected named Boulton Trafalgar and Davison Nile medals. I would estimate that our joint holdings were around a hundred pieces. We found that it was very rare indeed to have a named Boulton Trafalgar or Davidson Nile medal awarded to a man who also received the Naval General Service medal, which tends to confirm the validity of most of these medals. (Having said that, one must be cautious because some of these pieces have certainly been engraved in more recent times.) Furthermore, I grew suspicious in that the auction note detailed that Midshipman Robert Smith had been killed in the action at Trafalgar. From what I knew about the battle, his body was most certainly consigned to the deep shortly after his demise. I wrote a letter, which detailed my reservations, to give to Michael Naxton, the auctioneer, on the morning of the sale. In the end, the medal did not sell and its whereabouts are currently unknown.



Fig. 1. The Robert Smith, Captain Hardy award in silver (courtesy of Sotheby's).

Twenty-five years have now passed and the Hardy medal has again come to my attention. During the interim, I managed to buy a silvered copper example for William Tarrant, so the list of known Hardy's Reward of Merit medals has now grown to four:

1. Midshipman Robert Smith. Killed in action at Trafalgar, but Smith's mother managed to get a posthumous Naval General Service medal awarded to him. Silver Hardy medal. Sotheby lot 125, 1 July 1981. Whereabouts unknown. (Fig. 1.)

¹ Sotheby, *Military and Naval Campaign Medals, Gallantry Awards*, 1 July 1981.

2. William Adams. Adams also received the Naval General Service Medal. Silvered copper Hardy medal, now in the National Maritime Museum collection, catalogue no. MED0006.
3. Midshipman John Lyons. Also received the Naval General Service medal. Silver Hardy medal, in the National Maritime Museum collection, catalogue no. MED0005.
4. William Tarrant. Also received the Naval General Service medal. The name is spelled Tarrant on the Naval General Service roll and Terrant on the *HMS Victory* muster roll. Silvered copper Hardy medal, in the Sim Comfort Collection. (Fig. 2.)



Fig. 2. The William Tarrant, Captain Hardy award in silvered copper.

Roughly 20,000 British seamen, marines and officers were at the battle of Trafalgar.² Only 1,600 lived to 1848 to receive the Naval General Service medal.³ The odds for a recipient of Captain Hardy's Reward of Merit to receive the Naval General Service medal are 12.5 to 1. To have four men receive the Hardy medal and all also receive the Naval General Service medal thus produces odds of 24,414 to 1.

I now feel most confident that all four of these medals are fakes and were probably made in the late 1920s or early 1930s. The faker must have gone to Colonel Hailes' *Naval General Service Medal Roll*, published in c.1910, and selected names from the roll of men who had been on board *HMS Victory* at Trafalgar. That all of these men had to live until 1848 to apply for the Naval General Service has proved the source of his unmasking. Further evidence of fraud is found by:

1. Milford Haven in his colossal work entitled *British Naval Medals*, published in 1919, did not record an example.⁴
2. The Chelsea Naval Exhibition of 1895 did not have an example.
3. The Royal United Services Institute collection did not have an example.
4. There is no reference to Hardy having made such a presentation. One might remember that under Hardy, *Victory* was certainly a flogging ship and such a reward may well be deemed out of character for Hardy.
5. There is no reference in the *Naval Chronicle* to such a medal.

² Ayshford 2004.

³ Hailes c.1910, Douglas-Morris 1982 and Message 1996.

⁴ Milford Haven 1919.

The faker did, however, really know how to excite the collector's imagination. His inscription on the two silvered copper examples, 'Metal from the French Ship REDOUTABLE taken at Trafalgar Oct 21st 1805 after having 300 KILLED AND 222 WOUNDED.', is certainly gripping! Just to make sure that everyone appreciates the importance of the medal, he has even engraved the edge with 'ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY.' (Fig. 3.) Both silver examples bear London hallmarks and the date letter K for 1805/1806, which all goes to show the faker's attention to detail. This is actually amusing in that both the silver and silvered copper examples have a crudeness about them to give the impression that they were created on board ship. Then why have London hallmarks?



Fig. 3. Edge inscription of the William Tarrant medal.

Captain Broke's Reward of Merit Medal

As a further note, I am fairly certain that this faker is also the creator of the Reward of Merit presented by Captain Broke to William Stack following the capture of the *Chesapeake* on 1 June 1813 (Fig. 4.). The host medal certainly looks as though it was a school prize medal probably struck in the late nineteenth century. The Stack medal was illustrated by Milford Haven, so it was made prior to 1919.⁵ Needless to say, Stack also received the Naval General Service medal.



Fig. 4. The William Stack, Captain Broke award in silver.



Fig. 5. Edge inscription of the William Stack medal.

⁵ Milford Haven 1919.

I believe that three examples of the Stack medal are known, which are all nearly identical. I rather think that all three were made by the faker, instead of one original medal being copied by other people. I would suggest that the faker did not bother to change the name from Reward of Merit after he created the Stack medal, and simply decided to create Captain Hardy's medal as if this Reward of Merit was an established practice within the Royal Navy.



Fig. 6. The Johnson Shannon and Chesapeake box.

A tobacco box recently offered at auction is a final example demonstrating the imagination of our faker (Fig. 6). This box purported to have belonged to J. Johnson, a member of the crew of the *Shannon*. When checking the muster list of *HMS Shannon*, we find his name is actually spelled Johnston whereas on the Naval General Service roll, it is spelled Johnson, and indeed he did receive the Naval General Service medal for the fight with the *Chesapeake*.⁶ If one continued the 12.5 × 1 odds and includes the Broke medal and this box, then the final tally comes to 3,814,697 to 1 against all of these men having received the Naval General Service medal. However, an important contribution is made by the appearance of this box. When one compares the engraving of *H.M.S.* on the box and on the William Tarrant medal, we can now see that they are by the same hand: further evidence of the activity and invention of this imaginative early twentieth-century faker.

⁶ Pullen 1970 includes the muster list for *HMS Shannon*.



Fig. 7. Comparison of the engraving of H.M.S. from the Tarrant medal and Johnson box.

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Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

COIN REGISTER 2010

EDITED BY MARTIN ALLEN AND SAM MOORHEAD

THE Coin Register provides a platform for the publication of unusual and remarkable single coin finds from Britain and Ireland. All Celtic, pre-conquest Roman, Roman silver prior to AD 64, Roman gold and late Roman silver coins from the fourth century onwards are welcomed, as are Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coins and their continental contemporaries (down to and including the *Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby)* type of Henry II), and most later medieval continental coins. However, coins outside these categories will still be considered for their numismatic interest. As always, the essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from archaeological excavations may be included if it seems that there would otherwise be a considerable delay in publication.

Celtic material should be sent in the first instance to Ian Leins, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG (ileins@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Finds of Greek and Roman coins should be notified to Sam Moorhead, Finds Adviser, Iron Age and Roman coins, Portable Antiquities Scheme, c/o Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG (smoorhead@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Other material should be sent to Dr Martin Allen, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge CB2 1RB (mra25@cam.ac.uk).

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Abbreviations

cuir.	cuirassed
diad.	diadem
dr.	draped
EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds AD 410–1180 (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc)
ex.	exergue
helm.	helmeted
HER	Historic Environments Record
l.	left
laur.	laureate
M/d	Metal detector
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme (www.finds.org.uk)
r.	right
rad.	radiate
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
std	seated
stg	standing

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Celtic coins

1. Eastern (Trinovantian) silver unit, VA –, *BMCIA* –
Obv. Uncertain beast r., pellet in ring on chest and rump, its head turned back towards a curled snake; above the tail the forepart of another beast. Below the tail of the central beast, partially visible, a star with pellet in ring; all around five of probably six pellets in ring motifs visible.

Rev. Horse l., pellet in ring on chest and rump, branch or leaf motif below, above ?bird head to l.; six visible pellets in ring motifs around.

Weight: 1.19 g. Die axis 270°.

Chippenham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, about October 2009.

At least two other specimens of this rare type are recorded (see CCI 94.1183 and 96.3471 for which see *BNJ* 66 (1996), 145 no. 23), the one described above being the second with a find spot and the best preserved. The details are unusually clear on this example which has very little wear. The reverse die has a flaw above the horse which makes for the moment identification of the beast difficult.

A.P.

2. Uninscribed East Anglian silver unit – ‘Early Face/Horse’ type, VA –, *BMCIA* 3553

Obv. Head r.

Rev. Horse l.

Weight: 1.06 g.

Hockwold cum Wilton, Norfolk. M/d find, about October 2009.

A.P.

Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins

Note: Nearly all of the coins and related objects listed below have been recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (www.finds.org.uk). In 2009, 13,820 Roman coins were recorded on the database; the total for Roman coins now stands at around 85,000 coins. There were also nineteen Greek and Roman Provincial coins recorded. Some of the coins below were found before 2009, but were recorded later. The new database enables swift searching by ruler, mint and denomination, and by region of discovery.

A new volume covering all Roman gold coin finds in Britain has been published: R. Bland and X. Loriot, *Roman and Early Byzantine Gold Coins found in Britain and Ireland* (Royal Numismatic Society). S. Moorhead, ‘Early Byzantine copper coins found in Britain – A review in light of new finds recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme’, in O. Tekin (ed.), *Ancient History, Numismatics and Epigraphy in the Mediterranean World* (Istanbul, 2009), 263–74, summarizes finds of base metal Byzantine coins in Britain.

3. Carthage, Æ unit, mint in Sardinia, *SNG* 42, pl. 6, 155, c.300–264 BC

Obv. Head of Tanit l.

Rev. Horse head r., below, [dot]; to right, three dots.

Weight: 3.08 g.

Shalfleet, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 8 November 2009.

This is one of three Carthaginian coins to be recorded with the PAS in two years (see no. 4 below and *BNJ* 78 (2008), 267 no. 25).

(PAS IOW-A94C87)

F.B./S.M.

4. Carthage, Æ unit, probably minted in Sicily, *SNG* 42, pl. 6, cf. 109–16, c.300–264 BC

Obv. Head of Tanit l.

Rev. Horse standing r. in front of a date palm.

Weight: 2.31 g.

Kedington, Suffolk. M/d find, September 2009.

See note on coin above, no. 3.

(PAS SF-958525)

A.B./S.M.

5. Carteia, Æ unit, *SNG* 43, pl. 21, no. 442, c.2nd–1st centuries BC

Obv. [CARTEIA], turreted head of Tyche r.

Rev. D D, fisherman seated l. on rock, basket to side, holding rod.

Weight: 5.6 g.

Yarm, Cleveland. M/d find, before September 2009.

(PAS DUR-FF5F06)

F.Mc./S.M.

6. Roman Republic, ‘Crescent’ issue, denarius, Rome, Crawford 57/2, c.207 BC

Obv. Helmeted head of Roma r., behind head, X

Rev. Dioscuri riding r. with stars above heads, crescent between stars, ROMA in ex.

Weight: 4.5 g.

West Ilsley, Berkshire. M/d find, before 11 June 2009.

Comparison with coins in the British Museum does suggest that this is the earlier of the two ‘crescent’ issues, although the coin might have been struck a few years after Crawford’s suggested date of c.207 BC. What makes the coin even more interesting is its exceptional condition, showing very little wear.

(PAS BERK-65D307)

A.B./S.M.

7. Antonia (d. AD 37), denarius, Rome, *RIC* I Claudio 68, c.AD 41–45

Obv. ANTONIA AVGSTA, dr. bust of Antonia r., wearing crown of corn ears and with long plait.

Rev. SACERDOS DIVI AVGSTVS, two vertical long torches, lighted and linked by ribbons.

Weight: 3.43 g.

Flaunden, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 6 March 2007.

(PAS BUC-176E95)

R.T./S.M.

8. Civil Wars (68–69), denarius, Gaul, *RIC* I cf. 39

Obv. Helm. bust of Mars r.

Rev. P R SIGNA, two standards either side of aquila, to r. of aquila, altar.

Weight: 3.22 g.

Radnage, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, before 15 May 2009.

This coin is possibly a plated contemporary copy.

(PAS BUC-14ABA3)

R.T./S.M.

9. Vespasian (69–79), denarius, Spain (possibly Tarraco), *RIC* II (2nd edn) –

Obv. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG, laur. head r.

Rev. []VICT?[], figure seated, facing l., holding [wreath?] and spear?

Weight: unrecorded.

Twyford, Hampshire. M/d find, 1 February 2009.

Ian Carradice notes the similarity of the obverse to Spanish coins (cf. *RIC* II (2nd edn), no. 1312), but the reverse type is unrecorded. The coin was recorded at a m/d rally and efforts to recover it for further research have failed.

(PAS HAMP-5F3E60)

K.C./I.C./S.M.

10. Domitian (81–96), denarius, Rome, *RIC* II (2nd edn) –, 95–96
Obv. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XV, laur. head r.
Rev. IMP XXII COS XVII CENS P P P, hexastyle temple (possibly of Jupiter Capitolinus); apparently no cult statue or figures; unclear as to whether there is an inscription on the architrave.
Weight: 3.24 g.
Tytherington, Avon. M/d find, about September 2008.
The obverse type is standard for issues of the year 14 September 95 to 13 September 96 (see *RIC* II (2nd edn), 323, nos. 784–93). The reverse inscription is also standard for the year of issue, but this reverse type is not included amongst those recorded with the legend (*RIC* 784–93). There is an anepigraphic type with a reverse of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus believed to have been struck in the same year, with the obverse legend DOMITIANVS AVG GERM (*RIC* 815), one of a series of coins depicting temples (*RIC* 812–16). This new coin has a similar design to *RIC* 815, but apparently without the cult-statue and flanking figures visible on the latter, and it is not clear if the architrave has an inscription. In conclusion, after discussion with Ian Carradice, this appears to be a perfectly plausible new type which links the two issues of denarii for AD 95–96 (*RIC* 784–93 and 812–16). The inscriptions are taken from the first group (*RIC* 784–93) and the reverse design is thematically connected to the second group (*RIC* 812–16).
(PAS GLO-D41142) K.A./I.C./S.M.
11. Nerva (96–98), restoration for Augustus, as, Rome, *RIC* II 129
Obv. [DIVVS AVGVSTVS], bare head of Augustus r.
Rev. [IMP NERVA CAES AVG REST S C], eagle on globe, head r.
Weight: 8.38 g.
Great Bedwyn, Wiltshire. M/d find, before 31 December 2008.
(PAS SOM-CE8EB0) N.P./S.M.
12. Matidia (d. 119), denarius, Rome, *RIC* II 759, c.115–17
Obv. MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MARCIANAE F, dr. bust of Matidia r.
Rev. [PIETAS AVGVST], Matidia standing, placing hands on the heads of Sabina and Matidia the Younger.
Weight: 2.92 g.
St Hilary, Cornwall. M/d find, January 2008.
This is the only coin of Matidia recorded so far on the PAS Database.
(PAS CORN-1AB9D8) A.T./S.M.
13. Antoninus Pius (138–61), aureus, Rome, *RIC* III 105a(a), 140–43
Obv. ANTONINVS AVG PI VS P P TR P COS III, bare head r.
Rev. Anepigraphic; emperor, in military dress, standing r., foot on globe and holding spear and parazonium.
Weight: 7.2 g.
Raunds, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 30 August 2009.
(PAS NARC-04A984; Bland and Loriot 887) J.Cassidy/R.B.
14. Antoninus Pius (138–61), as, Rome, *RIC* III –, c.140–41
Obv. []; laur. head r.
Rev. TR POT III COS III PIET[AS], in ex. S C; Pietas facing l. holding out arm over child and holding box of perfumes.
Weight: 3.5 g (?).
Water Newton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 17 to 18 August 2008.
This coin appears to be a new variety. The reverse type is found on asses of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (138–61) struck at Rome in 148–49 (but with the inscription TR POT III COS II PIETAS) (*RIC* III, 180, no. 1293). This coin was found on a m/d rally and the weight might be incorrect.
(PAS CAM-83F9C1) D.P./S.M.
15. Antoninus Pius (138–61), as, contemporary copy, *RIC* III –
Obv. [], laur. head r.
Rev. []C, female figure (Hilaritas?) standing, holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, and ?palm in r.
Weight: 6.1 g.
Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire. M/d find, 1 September 2009.
There is no exact prototype for this coin. However, a number of dupondii copies of Antoninus Pius were recorded from the Bath Spring (D.R. Walker, 'The Roman coins', in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Vol 2. The Finds from the Sacred Spring* (Oxford, 1988), pls XL–XLI, cf. nos. 23–30).
(PAS WAW-8E3F15) A.B./S.M.
16. Faustina II commemorative (c.176–80), sestertius, Rome, *RIC* III 1701 var.
Obv. [DIVA F]AV-[STINA PIA], dr. bust r.
Rev. [CONSECRATIO], S C, Faustina, holding sceptre and carrying veil decorated with stars, seated on eagle flying r.
Weight: 18.36 g.
Calbourne, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 12 April 2009.
RIC records the eagle flying l., but not r. Coins depicting Faustina on an eagle (as opposed to a peacock) are rare. This appears to be a new variety, which the British Museum does not have.
(PAS IOW-600E85) F.B./S.M.
17. Caracalla or Geta, as Caesar (196–209), AE 21, probably mint of Hierapolis (Phrygia)
Obv. [], bare-headed, dr. and cuir. bust r., seen from behind.
Rev. [ΙεΡΟ?ΠΙΟΛεΙΤΩΝ ΝεωΚΩΡωΝ, rider god riding r. holding a double axe.
Owmyb, Lincolnshire. Casual find, around 1960.
Weight not recorded.
The reverse inscription and type does support the attribution to Hierapolis. The rider god appears on earlier coins of Claudius and Nero (*SNG* 30, nos. 455–6). The coin is not in Weber's corpus of coins of Hierapolis (L. Weber, 'The coins of Hierapolis in Phrygia', *NC* 13 (1913), 1–30, 133–61) and extensive searches by Richard Ashton have failed to find another example of this piece.
(PAS LIN-1CCFF2) A.D./S.M./R.A.

18. Julia Mamaea (222–35), as, cast 'Limesfalschung', c.222–50
Ov. [], diad. and dr. bust r.
Rev. [], female figure standing l.
 Weight: 5.03 g
 Great Bedwyn, Wiltshire. M/d find, before 31 December 2008.
 (PAS SOM-CE12D5) N.P./S.M.
19. Otacilia Severa (244–49), as, 'Limesfalschung', 'Rome', *RIC* IV, pt 3, cf. 203c
Ov. [MARCIA OTACIL SEVERA AVG], diad. bust r. on crescent.
Rev. CONCORDIA AVGG, S C in field, Concordia seated l. holding patera and cornucopiae.
 Weight: 2.86 g
 Northleach with Eastington, Gloucestershire. M/d find, about January 2008.
 Another 'Limesfalschung' of Otacilia was recorded in the 2008 Coin Register (*BNJ* 78 (2008), 268 no. 36).
 (PAS LANCUM-748A72) D.B./D.S./S.M.
20. Salonina (sole reign, 260–68), radiate, Rome (Gallienus type, cf. Cunetio 1034–38). *RIC* V, pt 1, –
Ov. [], diad. and dr. bust r. on crescent.
Rev. ?LIBERT AVG, ?Libertas standing l., holding transverse sceptre and ?pileus, leaning on a column.
 Weight: 1.42 g.
 Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. M/d find, 9 August 2009.
 Hybrids of Salonina and Gallienus are recorded in the Cunetio and Normanby hoards, but this appears to be a new combination of types.
 (PAS IOW-18ED25) F.B./S.M.
21. Claudius II (268–70), base radiate, Antioch, *RIC* V, pt 1, –
Ov. IMP C CLAVDIVS P F AVG, rad. bust 1.
Rev. SALVS AVG, Apollo standing l., holding lyre and branch.
 Weight: 3.4 g.
 Acton, Cheshire. M/d find, April 2009.
 The left-facing bust is not recorded in *RIC*, but the British Museum has two examples. There was no example of this coin in the Cunetio or Normanby hoards.
 (PAS LVPL-65C3E8) V.O./S.M.
22. Postumus (260–69), sestertius, principal mint, *RIC* V, pt 2, 144
Ov. IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG, laur. and dr. bust l., r. hand raised.
Rev. [LAETITIA AV]G, S C in field, galley l.
 Weight: 10.88 g.
 Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire. M/d find, before 14 September 2009.
 (PAS LEIC-F46217) W.S./S.M.
23. Tetricus I (271–74), base radiate, Gaul mint I?, *RIC* V, pt 2, cf. 51
Ov. []VS? AVG, rad. (dr. and cuir.) bust r.
Rev. [ADVENTVS A]VG, emperor riding l. holding sceptre and raising r. hand.
 Weight: 1.56 g.
 Osbournby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, before August 2009.
 H.-J. Schulzki, *Die Antoninianprägung der Gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus (AGK)* (Bonn, 1996), N77, records the coin as R4, with three specimens known, but neither states the coins' whereabouts, nor provides an image. Modern scholarship has assumed this issue was a mint mistake, using a gold coin reverse die for a copper alloy radiate. However, this reverse type is struck from a different die for that recorded for the gold piece (*RIC* 8 and B. Schulte, *Die Goldprägung der gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), pl. 25, die 26). This suggests that it was a deliberate, albeit very rare, issue. The finder, Tim Camm, has very kindly donated this coin to the British Museum.
 (PAS LIN-2F4F73) A.D./S.M.
24. Tetricus I (271–74), base radiate, Gaul mint I, cf. Normanby 1497
Ov. IMP C TET[RICV]S P F AVG, rad. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. SPES AVGG, Spes advancing l., holding skirt and flower.
 Weight: 2.77 g.
 Nynehead, Somerset. M/d find, before 3 July 2009.
 This is a rare hybrid, with an obverse of Tetricus I and reverse of Tetricus II.
 (PAS SOM-FF48E3) A.Bo./S.M.
25. Carausius (286–93), denarius, London, *RIC* V, pt 2, –
Ov. IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG, rad., dr. (and cuir.) bust r.
Rev. EXPECTATE VENI, mm. -//-, Britannia standing r. and emperor standing l., holding hands over altar; Britannia holds a wreath/patera.
 Weight: 3.5 g.
 Lichfield District, Staffordshire. M/d find, 19 April 2009.
 The reverse inscription is quite common for silver coins of Carausius, but normally with Britannia and the emperor standing, holding hands. Britannia usually holds a standard, the emperor a spear. In the exergue is normally RSR (see *RIC* 555). However, this coin appears to have Britannia and the emperor holding hands over an altar with Britannia holding a patera or wreath. There are no letters in the exergue. There is a coin with the same reverse type, but a different and apparently nonsensical reverse legend (V/M/NETOPA AVG) in the British Museum (R 3512).
 (PAS WMID-02BDE6) D.SI./S.M.
26. Carausius (286–93), denarius, London, *RIC* V, pt 2, –
Ov. IMP CARAVSIVS P F, rad., dr. bust r.
Rev. VIRTV-S AV, mm. -//M, bull stg r.
 Weight: 3.50 g. Die axis 180°.
 Hainford, Norfolk. M/d find, 2001. Acquired for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, CM.2368–2003 from Spink Sale no. 165, lot 214.
 This is an apparently unrecorded coin. The reverse type was usually used for base radiate coins of Carausius with the names of the third (see *RIC* 66–67), seventh (see *RIC* 74–77) and eighth legions (see *RIC* 78).
 (Norfolk HER 36656) A.P.
27. Carausius, Diocletian and Maximian (286–93), base radiate, C mint, *RIC* V, pt 2, p. 550, no 1
Ov. CARAVSIVS ET [FRATRES SVI], jugate busts of the three emperors l.
Rev. PAX-AVGCG, mm. S-P//C, Pax stg l., holding branch and vertical sceptre.

- Weight: 3.46 g. Die axis 180°.
Trumpington, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, May 2008.
A.P.
28. Constantius I, as Caesar (293–305), nummus, Trier, *RIC VI* –, c.303–5
Obv. CONSTANTIVS NOB C, laur., dr. and cuir. bust r., seen from behind
Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, mm. S F//PTR, Genius standing l., holding cornucopiae and patera.
Weight unrecorded.
Clyffe Pypard, Wiltshire. M/d find, before January 2009.
RIC does not record this obverse type.
(PAS WILTS-72B736) D.A./K.H.
29. Maximianus (286–310), half-nummus, Trier, *RIC VI* –, 307
Obv. D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG, laur., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. GENIO POP ROM, mm. S A//PTR, Genius standing l., holding cornucopiae and patera.
Weight: 4.48 g.
Shalfleet, Isle of Wight. M/d find. 5 March 2008.
RIC does not record this obverse legend and type for the half-nummus.
(PAS IOW-663A32) F.B./S.M.
30. Licinius I (308–24), festaureus, Trier, *RIC X*, no. 5, 313–15
Obv. LICINI-VS P F AVG, laur., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. VBIQE VICTORES, mm. -//PTR, emperor standing r., between two seated captives, holding globe and spear.
Weight: 5.45 g.
Norton, Northamptonshire. M/d find, around 20 September 2009.
A coin of the same type was found in Wiltshire in 2007 (PAS WILT-D86FB6 and *BNJ* 78 (2008), 268 no. 42).
(PAS NARC-A1A418; Bland and Loriot 886) J.Cassidy/S.M.
31. Licinius I (AD 308–24), base-silver argenteus, Trier, *RIC VII*, cf. 211, 318–19
Obv. IMP LICINIVS AVG, laur., dr. and cuir. bust l., holding mappa in r. hand and sceptre across l. shoulder.
Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG, mm. -//STR, eagle standing r., carrying emperor who holds thunderbolt and sceptre.
Weight: 2.42 g.
Officina S is not recorded in *RIC*.
Ogbourne St Andrew, Wiltshire. M/d find, before May 2009.
(PAS WILT-369E64) K.H./S.M.
32. Crispus (317–27), nummus, Ticinum, *RIC VII* –, 318–19
Obv. FL IVL CR[ISPVS NOB] CAES, laur.-helm., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP, mm. -//TT, two Victories standing, holding shield (inscribed VOT P R) on altar, decorated with swag, but no symbol.
Weight: 2.25 g.
Therfield, Hertfordshire. M/d find, about 10 May 2009.
The obverse legend is only recorded for the C/PT issue of AD 319.
(PAS BH-FBB2F6) J.W./S.M.
33. Constantine II as Caesar (317–37), nummus, London, *RIC VII* 292var., 323–24
Obv. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOBIL C, laur. head r.
Rev. CAESARVM NOSTRORVM, laurel wreath enclosing VOT/XX, mm. -//PLONU
Weight: 2.7 g.
Bainton, East Yorkshire. M/d find, before April 2009.
NOBIL, rather than NOB, in the obverse legend is not recorded for this issue in *RIC*. The version NOBIL is normally used for Crispus who has a shorter name.
(PAS YORYM-7F64D4) E.A.–W./S.M.
34. Constantine II as Augustus (337–40), miliarensis, Thessalonica, *RIC VIII* 46, c.340
Obv. FL CL CONSTAN-TINVS P F AVG, laurel and rosette-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITVS, mm. -//TES, soldier standing facing, head to r.; holding a spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on a shield.
Weight: 5.18 g.
St Mary Bourne, Hampshire. M/d find, before 27 March 2009.
This very rare coin is struck from different dies to the example in the British Museum. There are now twelve miliarenses recorded on the PAS database.
(PAS HAMP-2197A7) R.W./S.M.
35. Constans as Augustus (337–50), miliarensis, Siscia, *RIC VIII* 161, 340–50
Obv. FL IVL CONS-TANS P F AVG, mm. -//SISU/*, rosette-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.
Weight: 4.51 g.
Christhall, Essex. M/d find, about 5 April 2009.
The British Museum does not have an example of this coin.
(PAS BH-8AC6D3) J.W./S.M.
36. Valentinian I (364–75), solidus, Lyon, *RIC IX* 1a,1
Obv. D N VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG, pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REI PVBLICAE, mm. -//SMLVG emperor standing l. holding standard and Victory on globe.
Weight not recorded.
Norfolk. M/d find, October 2009.
(Bland and Loriot no. 885) R.B.
37. Valentinian I (364–75), contemporary silver-gilt copy of a solidus, 'Trier', as *RIC* 1(a)
Obv. D N VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG, pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. RESTITVTOR – REI PVBLICAE, mm. -//TR*, emperor standing l., holding labarum and Victory on globe.
Weight: 4.38 g.
Great Barton, Suffolk. M/d find, October 2009.
(PAS SF-6955E6; Bland and Loriot no. 887) A.B./R.B.
38. Valentinian I (364–75), siliqua (incomplete), Lyons, *RIC IX* 6c, 364–67
Obv. D N VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG, pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.
Rev. RESTITVT-TOR REIP, mm. -//SLVG*, emperor standing facing, head r., holding standard with cross on staff and Victory on globe.
Weight: 1.21 g.

Wickenby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, before 18 February 2009.

No examples of this scarce coin were present in the Hoxne hoard; it is struck from the same dies as the example in the British Museum (B1401).

(PAS SWYOR-85F9A2) A.C./S.M.

39. Theodosius I (379–95), solidus, Trier, *RIC IX* 90(b)
Obv. D N [TH]EODO-SIVS P F AVG, pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. [VICT]OR – IA AVG, mm. [T]R//COM two emperors seated facing, together holding globe.

Weight not recorded.

Wootton Bassett area, Wiltshire. Chance find, 1966.

This coin was pierced and formerly mounted. There is gold solder on the reverse. The coin has been crudely cut (in ancient times) from its jewellery mount: the coin has two missing pieces from the edge, at 9 o'clock and 3 o'clock on the obverse, which occurred when the mount was removed. Coin sold: Woolley and Wallis, Salisbury, auction, 27 January 2010.

(Bland and Loriot no. 889) R.B.

40. Libius Severus (461–65), Visigothic copy of tremissis, *RIC X*, cf. no. 3759

Obv. D N S[...]ER-V[S]...F AV[...], pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. [...]R[...]AAVG[...]G, mm. -//[]IOB, crude figure of Victory standing l., holding long cross

Weight: 1.15 g.

Capel le Ferne, Kent. M/d find, around 15 March 2009.

Richard Abdy notes: 'This gold tremissis has been pierced nine times at intervals all along the edge. Piercings at 3 and 9 o'clock (viewed from obverse) have broken at the edge. Presumably the number of holes were made in order to fix a textile or leather backing.'

(PAS LON-1C22F5; 2009 Treasure 307; Bland and Loriot no. 884) K.S./R.A.A.

41. Anastasius (491–518), solidus, Constantinople, *MIBE* 4, AD 492–507

Obv. D N ANASTA-SIVS PP AVG, pearl-diad., helm. and cuir. facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGGΔ, mm. - *//CONOB, Victory standing l., holding long cross.

Weight: 4.72 g.

Little Burstead, Essex. M/d find, 31 August 2009.

The coin had been adapted to make a pendant by adding a ribbed suspension loop.

(PAS ESS-10F463; 2009 Treasure 496; Bland and Loriot no. 883) L.M./R.B.

42. Anastasius (491–518), follis, Constantinople, *MIBE* 22, 498–507

Obv. D N ANASTA-SIVS P P AVG, pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. Large M, mm. -//CON, above, cross.

Weight: 7.67 g.

High Rothing, Essex. M/d find, before 24 February 2009.

This is the first coin of this general type to be recorded in Britain. These early folles of Anastasius have been subject to a recent study: *NC* 168 (2008), 303–20.

(PAS ESS-7CA830) L.M./S.M.

43. Heraclius (610–41), solidus, Constantinople, *DOC Vol II*, Pt 1, nos 9a.1–3, AD 613–16

Obv. [Ð ÑN HERA]CLIUS ET HERA CONST PP AVG, facing busts of Heraclius, wearing chlamys and flat crown with cross, and (smaller bust) Heraclius Constantine with chlamys and flat crown with cross.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGGe mm. – N//CONOB, cross potent on three steps.

Ingham, Suffolk. M/d find, before September 2009.

Weight: 4.5 g.

(PAS DUR-EBAF01; Bland and Loriot no. 888) F.Mc./S.M.

44. Anonymous follis Class B, attributed to Romanus II (1028–34), Constantinople, DO nos 67–85

Obv. Facing bust of Christ with nimbus cross behind.

Rev. IS-XS, bASILE/ bASILE, cross, with pellet at each extremity, on three steps

Weight: 0.7 g.

Ropley, Hampshire. M/d find, 27 July 2008.

An Anonymous Follis Class A1 (attributed to John I, 969–76) was excavated in Winchester. See Boon (1991, 44); G.C. Boon, 'Byzantine and other exotic ancient bronze coins from Exeter', in N. Holbrook and P.T. Bidwell (eds.), *Roman Finds from Exeter* (Exeter Archaeological Reports: 4). This coin was found on a m/d rally and the weight might be incorrect.

(PAS HAMP-D09423) K.C./S.M.

Merovingian and Visigothic

45. Gold tremissis, Pseudo-Imperial issue in the name of Justinian (527–65), cf. Belfort 5293

Obv. []VICTMVCRAO

Rev. []TORIA VICVTO[]

Weight: 1.40 g.

Kent. M/d find, by 2009.

(EMC 2009.0321) M.R.A.

46. Merovingian tremissis, Beaumont, Audierne, cf. Belfort 829 (obv.), Prou 1680–1 (obv.)

Obv. []ELL?JOOMONT

Rev. +AVDIERN[S?]M[O?] (AV ligated)

Weight not recorded.

York, near. M/d find, 2009. Found by Terry Morley.

(EMC 2009.0328) M.R.A.

47. Merovingian tremissis, Mouzon, Theodamaro, cf. Belfort 3078, Prou 1041

Obv. MOSOMO CAS (S's on their sides)

Rev. +THIEOD[A?]MARO MO

Weight: 1.26 g.

Friston, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 7 January 2009. Found by Robert Newman.

(EMC 2009.0010) M.R.A.

48. Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Dutta, cf. Belfort 4956, Prou 1126

Obv. +VVICCO FIT

Rev. DVTTA MONET

Weight not recorded.

Nettleton, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 8 January 2009.

(EMC 2009.0011) J.S.

49. Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Anglus, plated imitation, cf. Belfort 4969, 4971; Prou 1131
Obv. VVICV[]FICIT
Rev. ANGLOMONET
 Weight: 1.15 g.
 Postwick, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. Found by G. Mitchell.
 (Norfolk HER 34969; EMC 2009.0236) A.B.M.
50. Merovingian tremissis, Sacierges-Saint-Martin, cf. Belfort 1397–8 (obv.), Prou 1684 (obv.)
Obv. CAPVDCERVI
Rev. []MA[]
 Weight: 1.28 g. Die axis 270°.
 Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0006) A.A.
51. Merovingian tremissis, plated imitation.
Obv. +A[]E reversed?JO MO
Rev. +[]L?][]ΓΑVT
 Weight: 0.60 g.
 Maidstone, near, Kent. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Robert Parkes.
 (EMC 2009.0343) M.R.A.
52. Merovingian denier, uncertain mint
Obv. []SII[]
Rev. +SV[]II, CO in field.
 Weight: 1.1 g.
 Oxborough, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0337) B.H.
- Anglo-Saxon Shillings*
53. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Benutigo type, Sutherland I.vi, North 11
Obv. Diad. and dr. bust r.
Rev. Cross on three steps.
 Weight not recorded.
 Surrey. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0180) A.A.
54. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Constantine type, Sutherland II.ii, North 17
Obv. Diad. and dr. bust r. holding a cross.
Rev. Lyre-shaped object.
 Weight: 1.16 g.
 Thrandeston, near, Suffolk. M/d find, November 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0008) A.A.
55. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Two Emperors type, Sutherland II.v, North 20
Obv. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Stylized figure of Victory with wings enfolding two facing busts.
 Weight: 1.24 g.
 Burgrave, Suffolk. M/d find, November 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0009) A.A.
56. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Two Emperors type, Sutherland II.v, North 20
Obv. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Stylized figure of Victory with wings enfolding two facing busts.
 Weight: 1.10 g.
 White Colne, Essex. M/d find, February 2008. Found by Paul James.
 (EMC 2009.0186) M.R.A.
57. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Two Emperors type, Sutherland II.v, North 20
Obv. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Stylized figure of Victory with wings enfolding two facing busts.
 Weight: 1.1 g.
 Great Wakering, Essex. M/d find, 26 July 2009. Found by Ian Crook.
 (EMC 2009.0266) M.R.A.
58. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Witmen type, Sutherland IV.ii, North 25
Obv. Bust r., trident on forked base before face.
Rev. Inscription, cross fourchée in beaded inner circle.
 Weight: 1.27 g.
 Warfield, Berkshire. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0007) A.A.
59. Vanimundus, Va B II, North 12/2
Obv. Inscription, helm. bust r. with staff on shoulder.
Rev. Inscription, cross pattée in double beaded inner circle.
 Weight not recorded.
 Ely, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 1 February 2009. Found by Tim Jackson.
 (EMC 2009.0098) M.R.A.
60. Vanimundus, Va B II, North 12/2
Obv. OTAV[]IUS, helm. bust r. with staff on shoulder.
Rev. []MII[], cross pattée in double beaded inner circle.
 Weight not recorded.
 Ely, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 19 February 2009. Found by Wayne Davies.
 (EMC 2009.0111) M.R.A.
- Pennies ('Sceattas'): Primary and Intermediate*
61. Series Pa IIa, North 154
Obv. Diad. bust r., in front, TNC
Rev. Inscription around Pada (runic)
 Weight: 1.25 g. Die axis 270°.
 Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0010) A.A.
62. Series BIa (Type 27b), North 126
Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets in field.
 Weight: 1.24 g.
 Coddenham, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Colin Hall.
 (PAS: CDD SF-CADFB6; EMC 2009.0261) A.B.
63. Series BIa (Type 27b), North 126
Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r.
Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets in field.
 Weight: 1.10 g.
 Papworth Everard, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by Tim Jackson.
 (EMC 2009.0325) M.R.A.
64. Series BIb (Type 27b), North 126
Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r., cross before face.
Rev. Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets and two pellets in field.
 Weight: 1.23 g.

Crimpleshaw, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2008. Found by K. Underdown. (Norfolk HER 15539; EMC 2009.0162)	A.B.M.	Flitcham with Appleton, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by A. Melton. (Norfolk HER 52539; EMC 2010.0004)	A.B.M.
65. Series BIb (Type 27b), North 126 <i>Ov.</i> Inscription, diad. bust r., cross before face. <i>Rev.</i> Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets and two pellets in field. Weight not recorded.		73. Series C2 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.15 g.	
Hilton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 23 August 2009. Found by Tim Jackson. (EMC 2009.0284)	M.R.A.	West Dereham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2008. Found by K. Underdown. (Norfolk HER 44106; EMC 2009.0166)	A.B.M.
66. Series BI or BII (Rigold BI, B2b/ia) (Type 27b), North 126 <i>Ov.</i> Inscription, diad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Inscription, bird on cross with four annulets and two pellets in field. Weight: 1.18 g.		74. Series C2 imitation with reverse derived from Series E VICO type. <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tapae</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> VICO in standard. Weight not recorded.	
Wetheringsett, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009. Found by Trevor Smith. (EMC 2009.0109)	M.R.A.	Puddletown, Dorset. M/d find, January 2008. Found by Paul Shannon. (EMC 2009.0235)	M.R.A.
67. Series BIa-c (copy) <i>Ov.</i> Inscription, diad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets in field. Weight: 1.1 g.		75. Series CZ <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>æpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> Standard with three sides and cross below. Weight not recorded.	
Princes Risborough, near, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Roger Paul. (EMC 2009.0170)	M.R.A.	Wye, near, Kent. M/d find, February 2009. Found by Martin Grist. (EMC 2009.0113)	M.R.A.
68. Series BIa-c (copy) <i>Ov.</i> Inscription, diad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Inscription, bird on cross with two annulets in field. Weight: 1.20 g.		76. Series CZ <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>æpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> Standard with three sides and cross below. Weight: 1.18 g. Die axis 180°. Linton, Kent. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0012)	A.A.
Crimpleshaw, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2008. Found by K. Underdown. (Norfolk HER 15539; EMC 2009.0163)	A.B.M.	77. Series D (Type 2c), North 163/168 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles. Weight not recorded.	
69. Series C1 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.20 g.		Princes Risborough, near, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, 20 October 2009. Found by Roger Paul. (EMC 2009.0350)	M.R.A.
Dedham, near, Essex. M/d find, 2009. (EMC 2009.0301)	C.M.	78. Series D (Type 2c), North 163/168 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., pseudo-runic inscription before face. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles. Weight not recorded.	
70. Series C1 (Metcalf C1 inv.) <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tæpa</i> (runic) before face. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 0.97 g.		Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 13 March 2009. Found by Tim Jackson. (EMC 2009.0121)	M.R.A.
Papworth Everard, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by Tim Jackson. (EMC 2009.0324)	M.R.A.	79. Series D (Type 2c), bust l., North 169 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust l., pseudo-runic inscription before face. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross pommée with pellets in angles. Weight: 0.64 g.	
71. Series C2 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight not recorded.		Fordham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Steve Hills. (EMC 2009.0147)	M.R.A.
Devizes, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by Robert Lovett. (EMC 2009.0300)	M.R.A.	80. Series D (Type 8), North 50 <i>Ov.</i> Standard. <i>Rev.</i> Cross pommée with pellets in angles in beaded circle. Weight: 1.14 g.	
72. Series C2 <i>Ov.</i> Rad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard. Weight: 1.19 g.			

Costessey, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. Found by B. Bowen. (Norfolk HER 35726; EMC 2009.0120)	A.B.M.	Weight not recorded. Cambridgeshire. M/d find, c. August 2008. (EMC 2009.0009)	B.S.
81. Series E, VICO var. 1b <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> VICO in standard. Weight not recorded. Bampton, Oxfordshire. M/d find, 2009. (EMC 2009.0306)	J.B.	90. Series E, Secondary Variety E, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight not recorded. Papworth Everard, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by Tim Jackson. (EMC 2009.0326)	M.R.A.
82. Series E, Plumed Bird var. J, North 49 <i>Obv.</i> 'Plumed bird' porcupine r. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.1 g. Wickhambreaux, Kent. M/d find, 1990s? (EMC 2009.0107)	D.H.	91. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight not recorded. Ely, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 15 March 2009. Found by Wayne Davies. (EMC 2009.0122)	M.R.A.
83. Series E, Plumed Bird var. L, North 49 <i>Obv.</i> 'Plumed bird' porcupine r. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.00 g. Huttoft, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 12 August 2009. Found by Martin Radden. (EMC 2009.0406)	M.R.A.	92. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight not recorded. Brackley, near, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 2008. Found by Simon Neal. (EMC 2009.0151)	M.R.A.
84. Series E, Plumed Bird var. L, North 49, imitation <i>Obv.</i> 'Plumed bird' porcupine r. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 0.71 g. Thoresborpe, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 19 August 2009. Found by Martin Radden. (EMC 2009.0407)	M.R.A.	93. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.08 g. Papworth Everard, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by Tim Jackson. (EMC 2009.0323)	M.R.A.
85. Series E, var. G1, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.25 g. Ramsgate, Kent. M/d find, May 2008. (EMC 2009.0105)	D.H.	94. Series E, Secondary Variety, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.12 g. Driffield, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0024)	A.A.
86. Series E, Secondary Variety C, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.17 g. Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0023)	A.A.	95. Series F, Metcalf d (Type 24a), North 61 <i>Obv.</i> Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Pseudo-inscription, cross on steps with three annulets. Weight: 1.16 g. Great Dunham, Norfolk. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Vince Butler. (EMC 2009.0370)	M.R.A.
87. Series E, Secondary Variety D, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.09 g. Pocklington, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2008. From the same dies as no. 88, below. (EMC 2009.0038)	N.A.	96. 'Maastricht' type <i>Obv.</i> Bust l., cross before face. <i>Rev.</i> Interlaced quatrefoil. Weight: 1.16 g. Benson, Oxfordshire. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0025)	A.A.
88. Series E, Secondary Variety D, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard. Weight: 1.03 g. Stanstead Abbots, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Mike Steele. From the same dies as no. 87, above. (PAS ESS-856534; EMC 2009.0375)	J.N.	97. 'Maastricht' type <i>Obv.</i> Bust l., cross before face. <i>Rev.</i> Interlaced quatrefoil. Weight: 0.90 g. Southampton, near. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0027)	A.A.
89. Series E, Secondary Variety D, North 45 <i>Obv.</i> Porcupine. <i>Rev.</i> Standard.		98. Series BZ (Type 29b) North 131 <i>Obv.</i> Inscription, facing head with long hair, moustaches and beard.	

<i>Rev.</i> Inscription, bird on cross with annulet in field. Weight: 1.21 g.		Melbourn, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 24 August 2009. Found by Dee Joyce. (EMC 2009.0279)	
Ely, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0011)	A.A.	M.R.A.	
99. Series Z (Type 66), North 145 <i>Obv.</i> Facing head with long hair, moustaches and beard. <i>Rev.</i> Quadruped r. with head down and tail curled between legs. Weight: 1.07 g. Die axis 90°.		107. Series J (Type 85), North 128 <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Bird on cross between two annulets. Weight: 1.01 g.	
King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0013)	A.A.	Offord, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 28 June 2009. Found by Simon Ashford. (EMC 2009.0206)	M.R.A.
100. Series W (Metcalf a), North 148 <i>Obv.</i> Standing figure, head r., holding two crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Cross-crosslet on saltire. Weight not recorded.		108. Series K, Metcalf var. a (Type 42) <i>Obv.</i> Bust r. with knotted diadem, holding plant with berries. <i>Rev.</i> Hound l., tail curved over back, looking back at berried vine. Weight: 0.89 g. Die axis 270°.	
Bicester, near, Oxfordshire. M/d find, 8 April 2009. Found by Simon Neal. (EMC 2009.0150)	M.R.A.	North-west Norfolk. M/d find, c.2000. Found by A. Charlton. (EMC 2009.0058)	M.R.A.
<i>Pennies ('Sceattas'): Secondary</i>			
101. Series G (Type 3a), North 43 <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r., cross before face. <i>Rev.</i> Standard with four crosses pommée and central annulet enclosing pellet. Weight: 1.04 g.		109. Series L (Type 18), North 72, imitation <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r., cross before face. <i>Rev.</i> Standing figure in segment of a circle, holding cross and bird. Weight not recorded.	
Ottinge, Kent. M/d find, March 2009. (EMC 2010.0014)	A.A.	Wickham Bishops, near, Essex. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Jason Baker. (EMC 2009.0360)	M.R.A.
102. Series H, Metcalf var. 1c (Type 49), North 103 <i>Obv.</i> Facing head surrounded by nine roundels. <i>Rev.</i> Bird r. with wing raised over back. Weight: 0.86 g.		110. Rosettes on obverse Group (Type 68), Series L related reverse (Type 15b or 16) <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r., rosette and cross before face. <i>Rev.</i> Standing figure, foliage to l. and r. Weight: 1.06 g. Die axis 90°.	
Wonston, Hampshire. M/d find, 22 February 2009. Found by Mark Duell. (EMC 2009.0114)	M.R.A.	Marks Tey, Essex. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0026)	A.A.
103. Series J (Type 37), North 135 <i>Obv.</i> Two facing diad. heads, separated by cross on stand. <i>Rev.</i> Whorl of four birds, around cross pommée. Weight not recorded.		111. Series M var. f (Type 45) <i>Obv.</i> Quadruped r. with long curved tail, pellets in field. <i>Rev.</i> Spiral (anti-clockwise), ornamented with buds and leaves. Weight: 0.89 g.	
Dorchester, near, Dorset. M/d find, 4 September 2009. (EMC 2009.0291)	M.S.	Benson, Oxfordshire. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0015)	A.A.
104. Series J (Type 37), North 135 <i>Obv.</i> Two facing diad. heads, separated by cross on stand. <i>Rev.</i> Whorl of four birds, around cross pommée. Weight: 0.94 g.	N.P.	112. Series N (Type 41b/41a) <i>Obv.</i> Two standing figures holding three crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Monster l. with head turned back. Weight: 0.98 g. Die axis 180°.	
South Cadbury, Somerset. Excavation find, 1998. (EMC 2009.0295)		Ashford, near, Kent. M/d find, August 2008. (EMC 2010.0016)	A.A.
105. Series J (Type 37), North 135 <i>Obv.</i> Two facing diad. heads, separated by cross on stand. <i>Rev.</i> Whorl of four birds, around cross pommée. Weight not recorded.		113. Series O (Type 40) <i>Obv.</i> Standing figure holding two crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Monster l., looking back. Weight: 0.91 g. Die axis 90°.	
Brackley, near, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 2008. Found by Simon Neal. (EMC 2009.0152)	M.R.A.	Sedgeford, Norfolk. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2010.0002)	N.P.
106. Series J (Type 85), North 128 <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r. <i>Rev.</i> Bird on cross between two annulets. Weight not recorded.		114. Series O (Type 40) <i>Obv.</i> Standing figure holding two crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Monster l., looking back. Weight: 0.91 g.	
		Hilgay, Norfolk. M/d find, 4 April 2009. Found by Gerry Freeman-Smith. (EMC 2009.0158)	M.R.A.

115. Series O (Type 40), contemporary imitation?		124. Series R8	
<i>Obv.</i> Standing figure holding two crosses.		<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Oep</i> (runic) before face.	
<i>Rev.</i> Monster l., looking back.		<i>Rev.</i> Standard.	
Weight: 1.04 g.		Weight: 0.99 g.	
Dorchester, near, Dorset. M/d find, 11 September 2009. (EMC 2009.0299)	M.S.	Sedgeford, Norfolk. Excavation, July 2009. Found by Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project. (EMC 2009.0265)	N.P.
116. Series Q I b		125. Series R8	
<i>Obv.</i> Two standing figures holding three crosses.		<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Oep</i> (runic) before face.	
<i>Rev.</i> Monster l., looking back.		<i>Rev.</i> Standard.	
Weight: 1.11 g. Die axis 90°.		Weight: 0.79 g.	
King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0017)	A.A.	Sutton, Suffolk. M/d find, February 2009. Found by P. Hammond. (PAS SF-F004D4; EMC 2009.0373)	J.C.
117. Series Q II d		126. Series R8	
<i>Obv.</i> Lion l., pellets in field.		<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Oep</i> (runic) before face.	
<i>Rev.</i> Bird l., pellets in field.		<i>Rev.</i> Standard.	
Weight: 0.84 g. Die axis 270°.		Weight: 0.76 g.	
Hoxne, Suffolk. M/d find, May 2009. (EMC 2010.0018)	A.A.	Sedgeford, Norfolk. Excavation, July 2009. Found by Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project. Series R8R variant with bust left. (EMC 2009.0245)	N.P.
118. Series R1		127. Series R8	
<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>epa</i> (runic) before face.		<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Oep</i> (runic) before face.	
<i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard.		<i>Rev.</i> Standard.	
Weight: 1.16 g.		Weight: 1.07 g. Die axis 270°.	
Eyke, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Rob Atfield. (EMC 2009.0342)	M.R.A.	Great Walsingham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. A variant of Series R8 with left-facing bust and runes reading EPA, outward and reversed. (EMC 2009.0153)	J.Cross
119. Series R2 (Rigold R1x)		128. Series R8	
<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>epa</i> (runic, outwards, retrograde) before face.		<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Oep</i> (runic) before face.	
<i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard.		<i>Rev.</i> Standard.	
Weight: 1.04 g.		Weight: 0.66 g.	
Winchester, near, Hampshire. M/d find, 31 March 2008. Found by Mark Duell.		Congham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2008. Found by Steve Brown. (Norfolk HER 3565; EMC 2009.0165)	A.B.M.
XRF analysis indicates a silver fineness of 95.5%. (EMC 2009.0329)	M.R.A.	129. Series R imitation	
120. Series R2 (Rigold R1x)		<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>epa</i> (runic) before face.	
<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>epa</i> (runic, outwards, retrograde) before face.		<i>Rev.</i> Standard.	
<i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard.		Weight: 1.01 g.	
Weight: 1.16 g.		Freckenham, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009. Found by Mick King.	
Eyke, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Rob Atfield. (PAS: EKE021 1001; EMC 2010.0040)	F.M.	An imitation resembling Series R3 but with bust facing left. (EMC 2009.0110)	M.R.A.
121. Series R2 (Rigold R1x)		130. Saltire Standard type with moneyer's name Tiluwald	
<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>epa</i> (runic, outwards, retrograde) before face.		<i>Obv.</i> <i>Tiluwald</i> (runic) around pellet in annulet.	
<i>Rev.</i> TOTII in standard.		<i>Rev.</i> Saltire standard.	
Weight: 0.89 g. Die axis 90°.		Weight: 1.06 g.	
Great Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0019)	A.A.	Norwich, near, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Rodney Potter.	
122. Series R3 (Rigold R1z)		A previously unrecorded moneyer's name. This coin has been acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum. (EMC 2009.0366)	M.R.A.
<i>Obv.</i> Rad. bust r., <i>Tepa</i> (runic) before face.		131. Series S (Type 47)	
<i>Rev.</i> Standard.		<i>Obv.</i> Female centaur.	
Weight: 1.04 g.		<i>Rev.</i> Whorl of four wolf-worms.	
Thetford, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0020)	A.A.		
123. Series R5			
<i>Obv.</i> Radiate crowned bust r., <i>spi</i> (runic) before face.			
<i>Rev.</i> Standard.			
Weight: 0.8 g.			
Newark, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Richard Northey. (EMC 2009.0362)	M.R.A.		

Weight: 0.9 g. Monkton, Kent. M/d find, September 2007. (EMC 2009.0103)	D.H.	Bridlington, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2009. (EMC 2010.0030) A.A.
132. Series S (Type 47) <i>Obv.</i> Female centaur. <i>Rev.</i> Whorl of four wolf-worms. Weight: 0.80 g. Little Eversden, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 28 November 2009. Found by Simon Ashford. (EMC 2009.0398)	M.R.A.	140. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class E, North 177, York <i>Obv.</i> EOTBERETVS (retrograde) <i>Rev.</i> Quadruped r. Weight: 1.11 g. Die axis 180°. 'North of the Humber'. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0031) A.A.
133. Series T (Type 9) <i>Obv.</i> Diad. bust r., +LELNS (S on its side) around. <i>Rev.</i> Porcupine l. Weight: 0.88 g. Rochester, near, Medway. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2010.0021)	A.A.	141. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class B, North 178, York <i>Obv.</i> EOTBEREhTVS. <i>Rev.</i> Quadruped l. Weight not recorded. Ripplingham, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2008. Reported by Darren Tooheie. (EMC 2009.0004) M.R.A.
134. Series U (Type 23d) <i>Obv.</i> Standing figure in segment of a circle, head r., holding two crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Bird-in-vine r. Weight: 1.03 g. Hilton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 11 September 2009. Found by Tim Jackson. A variant of Series U (Type 23d) with head facing left and laterally inverted reverse, from the same dies as EMC 2005.0034. (EMC 2009.0303)	M.R.A.	142. Ecgberht, archbishop of York (732–66), North 192, York <i>Obv.</i> ECGBERHT, archbishop holding two croziers. <i>Rev.</i> EOTBEREHTVS Weight: 0.83 g (chipped). Die axis 180°. North Dalton, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2009. Reported by Michael O'Bee. (EMC 2009.0338) M.R.A.
135. Series U (Type 23d) <i>Obv.</i> Standing figure in segment of a circle, head r., holding two crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Bird-in-vine r. Weight not recorded. Hitchin, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Alan Smith. (EMC 2009.0314)	M.R.A.	143. Beonna of East Anglia (749–c.760), North 430, Efe <i>Obv.</i> +Beonna Rex (partly runic) <i>Rev.</i> E / F / E Weight: 0.72 g (chipped). Die axis 270°. Middle Harling, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009. (EMC 2009.0270) D.D.
136. Series U (Type 23d) <i>Obv.</i> Standing figure in segment of a circle, head r., holding two crosses. <i>Rev.</i> Bird-in-vine r. Weight: 1.02 g. Die axis 270°. Whitby, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2008. (EMC 2010.0022)	A.A.	144. Beonna of East Anglia (749–c.760), North 430, Efe <i>Obv.</i> +Beonna Rex (partly runic) <i>Rev.</i> + / E / F / E Weight: 0.8 g. chipped. Die axis 0°. Thompson, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2009. From the same dies as Archibald, 'The Coinage of Beonna', Efe O1/R1. (EMC 2009.0376) M.R.A.
137. Series X (Type 31), North 116/117 <i>Obv.</i> Facing 'Woden' head, two crosses pommée in field. <i>Rev.</i> Beast l. with head turned back, biting tail. Weight: 0.77 g. Die axis 270°. Sheffield, near. M/d find, c.2000. Found by A. Charlton. (EMC 2009.0044)	M.R.A.	145. Beonna of East Anglia (749–c.760), North 430, Efe <i>Obv.</i> +Beonna Rex (partly runic) <i>Rev.</i> + / E / F / E Weight: 0.70 g. Die axis 270°. Suffolk. M/d find, October 2009. (EMC 2010.0037) A.A.
138. Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704), North 176, York <i>Obv.</i> +ALFRIdUS (S reversed) <i>Rev.</i> Triple-tailed quadruped l. Weight: 1.1 g. Newark, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Richard Northey. (EMC 2009.0363)	M.R.A.	146. Æthelred I of Northumbria (1st reign) (774–8), North 180, York <i>Obv.</i> EDELRED (L and R inverted) <i>Rev.</i> Quadruped r. Weight: 0.85 g. Fimber, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2007. (EMC 2010.0028) A.A.
139. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class E, North 177, York <i>Obv.</i> EOTBERETVS (retrograde) <i>Rev.</i> Quadruped r. Weight: 1.03 g. Die axis 270°.		147. Eanbald I archbishop of York (780–96) with Æthelred I of Northumbria, North 185/1, York <i>Obv.</i> +ÆDILRED <i>Rev.</i> +EANBALD Weight not recorded. Wickham Bishops, near, Essex. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Jason Baker. (EMC 2009.0361) M.R.A.

148. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign, 790–96), North 185, York, Tidwulf
Obv. +EDILRED
Rev. +TIDVÅLFÐ (A inverted)
 Weight: 1.04 g. Die axis 270°.
 Thwing, East Yorkshire. M/d find, March 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0029) A.A.
149. Eanbald II, archbishop of York (796–837), North 194, York, Edilvard
Obv. +EANBALD ÅR (As and R inverted)
Rev. +EDILÅRD (A inverted)
 Weight: 1.08 g.
 Staxton, North Yorkshire. M/d find, April 2009. Found by Ian Postlethwaite.
 (EMC 2009.0138) M.R.A.
150. Eanbald II, archbishop of York (796–837), North 194, York, Edilvard
Obv. +EANBALD Å (retrograde, reading outwardly)
Rev. +EDILVÅRD
 Weight: 1.12 g. Die axis 0°.
 Kingston upon Hull, near. M/d find, 2006.
 (EMC 2010.0032) A.A.
- Stycas*
151. Æthelred II of Northumbria (1st reign, 840–44), North 188, York, Monne
Obv. +EDILRED R
Rev. +MONNE
 Weight not recorded.
 Littleborough, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, c.1994. Reported by Jane Seddon.
 (EMC 2009.0196) M.R.A.
152. Æthelred II of Northumbria (1st reign, 840–44), North 188, York, Wendelberht
Obv. +EDILRED RE
Rev. +VE[]BERHT (HT ligated)
 Weight not recorded.
 Blythburgh, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Alan Smith.
 (EMC 2009.0312) M.R.A.
153. Æthelred II of Northumbria (2nd reign, 844–48), North 190, York, Eardwulf
Obv. +EDILRED RE
Rev. +ÆARDVVLF
 Weight: 1.03 g. Die axis 180°.
 Thirsk, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, September 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0035) M.R.A.
154. Osberht (848–867), N 191, York, Eanwulf
Obv. OSBREHT REX (reading outwardly and retrograde)
Rev. +ÆANV[] (reading outwardly and retrograde)
 Weight: 1.1 g.
 Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, 2009. Reported by Robert Parkes.
 (EMC 2009.0273) M.R.A.
155. Osberht of Northumbria (848–67), North 191, York, Ethelheah
Obv. +OSBERHT (retrograde, reading outwardly)
Rev. +EDELHEÅH
 Weight: 0.71 g. Die axis 0°.
 Driffield, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0036) A.A.
156. Wulfhere, archbishop of York (854–900), North 197, York, Wulfred
Obv. VVLFHERE ÅREP (bar of contraction over EP)
Rev. VVLFR+PE (last E reversed)
 Weight: 0.94 g. Die axis 270°.
 Thirsk, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, September 2009.
 (EMC 2010.0033) A.A.
- Later Anglo-Saxon*
157. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 30, London, Dud
Obv. +O / FF / ÅR / EX
Rev. + / ð / U / ð
 Weight: 0.99 g.
 Herongate, near, Essex. M/d find, 2009.
 This is the second-known specimen of the type (Chick 30; the other specimen is EMC 1996.0159). Both were struck from the same set of dies. The obverse design was used by moneymen at both Canterbury and London, which was unusual at this time.
 (EMC 2009.0413) P.B./R.N.
158. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 101, cf. Blunt 9, North 263, Canterbury, Ealred
Obv. +OFFA RX
Rev. +E / ÅL / RE / ð
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 90°.
 Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009.
 The second recorded specimen of Chick type 101 (the reverse of which is the same as Blunt 9).
 (EMC 2009.0334) R.W./R.N.
159. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 104, Blunt 13, North 268, Canterbury, Eoba
Obv. OF / RM
Rev. E / O / B / Å
 Weight not recorded.
 Shotesham, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2008.
 From the same obverse die as Chick 104c (a coin in the BM from the Aiskew hoard).
 (EMC 2009.0014) S.H/R.N.
160. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 122, Blunt 59, North 277, uncertain mint, Heaberht
Obv. +O / FF / ÅR / EX
Rev. HE / Å / BE / RT (HE ligated)
 Weight: 1.06 g.
 Wingham, Kent. M/d find, November 2007. Found by Martin Grist.
 This is the third known example of Chick type 122 and was struck from the same obverse die as one of the other two coins (BMC 51).
 (EMC 2009.0005) R.N.
161. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 17, Blunt 22, North 279, London?, Beaheard
Obv. +O / FF / ÅR / EX
Rev. +BÅH / HÅRD
 Weight: 1.20 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
 Little Walden, Essex. M/d find, September 2008. Found by John Barker.
 From the same dies as Chick 17a.
 (EMC 2009.0115) R.N.

162. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 131, cf. North 285/319, uncertain mint, Tirwald
Obv. OFFA REX around central pellet in circle of pellets, within triple-beaded border.
Rev. TIRVVÄLD in angles of cross of lobes with trefoil-headed bar in each lobe and angle.
 Weight: 1.2 g.
 Newark, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 9 November 2009. Found by Richard Northey.
 From the same dies as Chick 131a.
 (EMC 2009.0368) R.N.
163. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 126, Blunt 74, North 294, Canterbury, Pehtwald
Obv. OFFA REX
Rev. PE / HT / VA / LD (HT ligated)
 Weight not recorded.
 Wragby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 31 January 2009. Found by Robert Winterton.
 (EMC 2009.0116) R.N.
164. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 23, North 296, London, Dud
Obv. OFFA REX
Rev. + / ð / U / ð
 Weight: 1.07 g (cracked).
 Wingham Well, Kent. M/d find, 2005.
 (EMC 2009.0091) C.W.
165. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 10, North 310, London, Ethelwald
Obv. +OFFA REX
Rev. Eð / EL / VA / Lð
 Weight not recorded (bent and cracked). Die axis 330°.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 17 July 2009. Found by Adam Staples.
 (EMC 2009.0231) R.N.
166. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 201, North 321, Canterbury, Bearheard
Obv. M / OFFA / REX
Rev. +BEAR / HEARð
 Weight not recorded (broken and fragments missing). Die axis 270°.
 Ludford, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2008.
 (EMC 2009.0344) C.K./R.N.
167. Cynethryth of Mercia, portrait type, Chick 147, North 339, Canterbury, Eoba
Obv. EOBA
Rev. +CYNEBRYð REGINA
 Weight: 0.98 g.
 Worthing, near, West Sussex. M/d find, 2 November 2008. Found by Clive Nobbs.
 (EMC 2009.0100) R.N.
168. Cynethryth of Mercia, portrait type, Chick 143b, North 339, Canterbury, Eoba
Obv. EOBA
Rev. +CYNEBRYð REGINA
 Weight: 1.13 g.
 Hollingbourne, near, Kent. M/d find, 23 March 2000. Reported by Roy Newbury.
 (EMC 2009.0183) R.N.
169. Archbishop Jænberht (766–92) with Offa, Chick 152A, cf. North 225, Canterbury
Obv. +IÆNBERHT AREP
Rev. OFFA REX
 Weight not recorded.
 Claxby Pluckacre, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 10 January 2009. Found by Malcolm Briggs.
- This coin presents a new variety for the coinage of Jænberht in association with Offa. The obverse of this new coin shares the same design as Chick 152/Blunt 126 and 128/North 224, and the reverse (Offa face) has a two-line inscription on both the new coin and this type. However, the semi-circular compartments and crosses are different from Chick 152, and the only close parallel lies in the obverse dies used by the Canterbury moneyer Ethelnoth (cf. Chick 119). Ethelnoth was probably involved in the archiepiscopal coinage, as one coin in his name was struck from an Offa die also used in conjunction with the archbishop.
 (EMC 2009.0012) R.N.
170. Archbishop Jænberht (766–92) with Offa, Chick 152A, cf. North 225, Canterbury
Obv. +IÆNBERHT AREP
Rev. OFFA REX
 Weight: 0.9 g (bent, cracked and chipped). Die axis 0°.
 Maidstone, near, Kent. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Robert Parkes.
- The second recorded example of a new variety for the coinage of Jænberht with Offa (see no. 169 above for the other known specimen).
 (EMC 2009.0358) M.R.A.
171. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Heavy Coinage, Chick 251, Blunt 114, North 337, East Anglian mint, Lul
Obv. []OFF[] / RE[]
Rev. +L[]
 Weight not recorded. Die axis 0°.
 Blythburgh, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Alan Smith.
 (EMC 2009.0313) R.N.
172. Eadwald of East Anglia (796–8), East Anglian mint, Botred
Obv. +LD / +HEADVĀ / REX
Rev. BO / ED / TR
 Weight: 1.26 g (chipped, cracked and bent). Die axis 90°.
 Rendlesham productive site, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Alan Smith.
- Along with EMC 2007.0223 (Coin Register 2008, no. 216) this coin is a representative of a very rare sub-type of Eadwald's coinage influenced by the tribrach design which became standard at London in 797/8–98. The reverse design of this coin is substantially closer to that of the tribrach pennies from southeastern England than that of 2007.0223, although the obverse differs in detail and does not feature the opposed hooks on the dividing bars, which had been copied on 2007.0223 from London issues of 796–8. All known tribrach-influenced issues of Eadwald are associated with the moneyers Botred and, in somewhat different form, Eadnoth.
 (EMC 2009.0248) A.B./R.N.
173. Eadberht Præn of Kent (796–98), North 203, Canterbury, Æsne
Obv. EAD / BERHT / REX
Rev. AE / SNE
 Weight: 1.23 g.

- Marlborough, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, January 2009.
Found by John Philpotts.
(EMC 2009.0092) M.R.A.
174. Cuthred of Kent (798–807), North 208, Canterbury, Eaba
Obv. +CVDRRED REX
Rev. +E / AB / A
Weight: 1.24 g.
Mildenhall, near, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009.
(EMC 2009.0264) R.Bude
175. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Early Three Line/
Enclosed Latin Cross type, London, Pendwine
Obv. M / COENVVL / REX F
Rev. PEDVVINE (N reversed)
Weight not recorded.
Alfriston, East Sussex. M/d find, by 2009. Reported by Martin Grist.
Cf. Coin Register 1997, no. 115 (EMC 1997.0115).
(EMC 2009.0102) M.A.
176. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 342, Canterbury, Ethelmod
Obv. +COENVVL.F REX
Rev. EP / EL / MOD
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 0°.
Wrexham parish. M/d find, 6 May 2009. Found by Steve Morris.
(EMC 2009.0225) M.R.A.
177. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 344, Canterbury, Eaba
Obv. +COENVVL.F REX M
Rev. +EABA MONETA
Weight: 1.36 g. Die axis 180°.
Charminster, Dorset. M/d find, March 2009. Found by Paul Shannon.
(EMC 2009.0233) M.A.
178. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 350, Canterbury, Duda
Obv. +COENVVL.F REX M
Rev. +DVDA MONETA
Weight not recorded.
Warminster, Wiltshire. M/d find, 28 December 2008. Reported by Alex Boggis.
(EMC 2009.0101) M.A.
179. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 356, Canterbury, Biornfreth
Obv. +COENVVL.F REX M
Rev. +BIORNFRĒÐ MONETA (NF and NE ligated)
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.
Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, 2009. Reported by Robert Parkes.
A previously unrecorded moneyer for the type.
(EMC 2009.0136) R.N.
180. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 358, Canterbury, Diormod
Obv. +COENVVL.F REX M
Rev. +DIORMOD MONETA
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Oundle, near, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 25 October 2009. Found by Sandra Fenlon.
(EMC 2009.0359) R.N.
181. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 362, East Anglian mint, Lul
Obv. +COENVVL.F REX M
Rev. + / L / V / L
Weight: 1.28 g (chipped and bent). Die axis 180°.
Thetford area, Norfolk. M/d find, 1 February 2009.
(EMC 2009.0099) M.R.A.
182. Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), North 563, Canterbury, Swefheard
Obv. +ÆGCBGĀRHT REX (HT ligated)
Rev. +SVVETHERD
Weight: 1.31 g (chipped). Die axis 30°.
Royston, Hertfordshire. M/d find, May 2009.
(EMC 2009.0188) M.R.A.
183. Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), North 573, Canterbury, Swefheard
Obv. [] BEVRHT REX
Rev. +[] FHEARD MON
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.
Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Robert Parkes.
(EMC 2009.0332) M.R.A.
184. Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), Rochester, Beagmund
Obv. +ECGBEO[]
Rev. +BEAGM[]
Weight: 0.84 g (fragment). Die axis 180°.
West Wrating, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 19 September 2009. Found by Susan James.
The central reverse design of this fragment is otherwise only known from coins of Beagmund in the reign of Aethelwulf (North 595). It appears that the design was specifically associated with this moneyer, and its presence here indicates that this new coin in the name of Egbert was produced towards the end of his reign.
(EMC 2009.0317) R.N.
185. Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), North 238, Canterbury, Swefheard
Obv. +SVVEFHREAD MONETA
Rev. DOROB / ERNIAC / IVITAS
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Barkway, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Mark Caudle.
(EMC 2009.0135) M.R.A.
186. Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), North 240, Canterbury, Sæberht
Obv. +VVLREDI ARCHIEPISCOPI
Rev. +SÆBERHT MONETA
Weight: 1.4 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009.
(EMC 2009.0190) M.R.A.
187. Æthelstan of East Anglia (825–45), North 445, East Anglian mint, Æthelhelm
Obv. AEDELSTAN RE
Rev. AEDEL[] JELMMO
Weight: 1.1 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Wood Norton, near, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2009.
(EMC 2009.0381) M.R.A.
188. Æthelstan of East Anglia (c.825–45), North 448, East Anglian mint, Eadgar
Obv. +EDELSTAN RE

Rev. +EADGAR MONE

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 0°.
Hollingbourne, near, Kent. M/d find, c.2000. Found by Martin Grist.

Only one other coin of this exact type (cross/pellets on royal die, cross/wedges on moneyer die) is known: BM (BMA 233, from the Middle Temple hoard).
(EMC 2009.0007)

R.N.

189. Æthelstan of East Anglia (c.825–45), East Anglian mint, Renhere

Obv. [+?]EDELST[Æ?][]

Rev. RE[]RE M

Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 300°.
Horncastle, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, March 2009. Found by Michael Storey.

This is a previously unknown type of Aethelstan of East Anglia, struck by the moneyer Re(ge)nhere. As in this case, his issues are characterised by relatively crude lettering; but all other known specimens bear a central **A** on the obverse, and normally an inner circle around a pellet on the reverse. This coin is thus something of a departure, but it fits in with other cruciform-type coins of other moneyers from the latter part of Aethelstan's reign.

(EMC 2009.0137)

R.N.

190. Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58), North 614, Rochester, Æthelhere

Obv. +EÐ[]JEX

Rev. []EÐELE[]

Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 270°.
Great Wakering, Essex. M/d find, 7 November 2009. Found by Sean Fahey.

(EMC 2009.0415)

M.R.A.

191. Berhtwulf of Mercia (840–52), North 406, London, Osulf

Obv. BERHTVVLF R[] (HT ligated)

Rev. +OSV[]F MONETÆ

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 90°.
North Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.

(EMC 2009.0333)

P.E.

192. Burgred of Mercia (852–74), Lunette type a, North 423, London, Wulfeard

Obv. BVR[]

Rev. []RD MO[] / VVLFE[] / []

Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 180°.
Torksey, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2003. Found by Paul Slack.

(EMC 2009.0203)

M.R.A.

193. Alfred (871–99), Lunette type a, North 625, London, Ethered

Obv. +ÆLBRED REX

Rev. MON / EÐERED / ETÆ

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Torksey, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2003. Found by Paul Slack.

(EMC 2009.0204)

M.R.A.

194. Alfred (871–99), Cross-and-Lozenge type, North 629, Winchester?, Lulla

Obv. []LFRED REX

Rev. LVL / LÆ / MON / ETÆ

Weight not recorded.

Winchester (Jewry Street), Hampshire. Excavation find, 2009.

(EMC 2009.0123)

P.M.

195. Viking imitation of Alfred Two-Line type, North 475/1, Ecgwulf

Obv. AEL[]L[]EX

Rev. ECP / MLF

Weight: 1.0 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.

Lincolnshire. M/d find, August 2009. Found by Terry Garrett.

(EMC 2009.0309)

M.R.A.

196. Viking imitation of Alfred Two-Line type, North 475/1, Simun

Obv. X ELFRED RE

Rev. SIHVN NE FEC

Weight: 1.3 g.

Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009. Reported by Terry Garrett.

(EMC 2009.0307)

M.R.A.

197. Viking imitation of Alfred Two-Line type, North 475/1, Wynebearht

Obv. +ELFRED RE

Rev. VVIBEARHT O

Weight: 1.4 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.

Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009. Reported by Terry Garrett.

This coin is in the style of the Canterbury die-cutter, but an error in the reverse legend (**O** instead of **MO**) and its low weight suggests it may be a Viking copy. Wynebearht was a moneyer of the West Midlands, but he is not otherwise known from coins of a Canterbury style.

(EMC 2009.0308)

M.A.S.B.

198. St Edmund Memorial coinage, early phase (c.895–905), North 483/1, East Anglian mint

Obv. +SCEADNVI

Rev. +SCEAVM:

Weight: 1.43 g.

Ipswich, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009.

(EMC 2009.0175)

D.P.

199. St Edmund Memorial coinage, early phase (c.895–905), North 483, East Anglian mint, Ansigar

Obv. []SCEADMVN[]

Rev. +ANSIG[]MON

Weight: 1.09 g (chipped and cracked). Die axis 180°.

Watton, Norfolk. M/d find, May 2009. Found by S. Ottaway.

(EMC 2009.0189)

M.R.A.

200. St Edmund Memorial coinage, later phase (c.905–18), North 483, East Anglian mint, Aldul

Obv. +SCEADI

Rev. +ALDVL

Weight: 1.27 g.

Soham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2009.

A previously unpublished moneyer for the St Edmund Memorial coinage.

(EMC 2009.0310)

D.P.

201. St Peter of York coinage (c.905–27), Phase I, North 551, York

Obv. SCYPE / TRIMO

Rev. +EBORACE CI

- Weight: 1.19 g. Die axis 180°.
Staxton, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 4 November 2009.
(EMC 2009.0365) I.P.
202. Sihtric I (921–27), North 536, York
Obv. SITICDICEX
Rev. DIIVIDDIVI (third D reversed)
Weight: 1.03 g (cracked). Die axis 0°.
Newark, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, c.2003–4.
(EMC 2009.0243) J.B.
203. Viking imitation of Æthelstan (924–39), Two-Line type, HT1, North 668
Obv. +DELV[]NRI
Rev. CVGEI / MOHEH
Weight: 1.30 g. Die axis 180°.
Foulsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 18 January 2009. Found by Andy Carter.
(Norfolk HER 35718; EMC 2009.0117) M.R.A.
204. Edmund (939–46), Bust Crowned type, North 697, without mint name, ?Reingrim
Obv. []ND REX
Rev. +RE[]NEIIV
Weight: 0.69 g (fragment).
Caston, Norfolk. M/d find, December 2008. Found by P. Barker.
Probably a coin of the moneyer Reingrim, from a reverse die possibly reading **+RE[INGRIMMO]NEIIV**. Reingrim is known from several specimens including BNJ 40 Plate IV, 22–23 (now BMS 490–1), the obverse die-cutting style of which is comparable to that of the new coin.
(EMC 2009.0167) A.B.M./C.S.S.L.
205. Eadred (946–55), Two-Line type, HR1, N 707, Manin
Obv. EADRED REX
Rev. MANIN MO
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.
Swindon, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Rob Abbott.
(EMC 2009.0193) M.R.A.
206. Eadred (946–55), Floral ‘b’ type, North 720, Eadweard
Obv. +HEADRED REX ZAXORVM
Rev. EADVVEAR / D
Weight not recorded (three fragments, pieces missing). Die axis 0°.
Chichester, near, Sussex. M/d find, 5 September 2009. Found by Jonathan Isnardi-Bruno.
This floral type, which copies one of Edward the Elder’s exceptional types, is only known subsequently as a penny for Edmund (moneyer Æthelmod), though halfpence are recorded of Eadred (Hildulf), Eadwig (Eadwine) and Edgar (Hildulf, Oswine and Ælfstan [the latter post-CTCE in Baldwin’s Auction 9, 1785]). The moneyer of the new coin, Eadweard, is recorded in CTCE for Edmund, striking a variety of the Horizontal type with various symbols replacing all but the central cross on the reverse (BMS 467–8). However, neither of those coins has the **REX SAXORVM** title of the new coin, which is otherwise unrecorded after Athelstan, where it is primarily associated with Derby die-cutting. On the other hand we find the title **REX ANGLOR[VM]** on HR1 pence of Eadred by Cenberht and Hildulf.
- Cenberht was a Shrewsbury moneyer of Athelstan while Hildulf is likely to be the moneyer of the floral halfpence noted above, which probably indicates that this floral type was produced in West Mercia. The top-and-bottom inverted S of this coin and the moneyer Eadweard’s variety of Edmund’s Horizontal type are also found on a coin of Edmund by the moneyer Eofermund, who minted the floral type for Edward the Elder and was a Shrewsbury moneyer of Athelstan.
(EMC 2009.0296) C.S.S.L.
207. Eadwig (955–59), Two-Line, HT 1 NE, North 724, Theodmær
Obv. +EADR ED.REX Y (Y inverted)
Rev. +DEODMAER-M
Weight not recorded (bent and cracked).
Kettlethorpe, Lincolnshire. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Ian Salthouse.
(EMC 2009.0355) M.R.A.
208. Edgar (959–75), Circumscription Cross type, North 748, York, Fastolf
Obv. +HEADGARR:REX: (triple-stop colons)
Rev. +FASTOLF MONE (NE ligated)
Weight not recorded (chipped and cracked). Die axis 180°.
Bedale, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Phillip Allaker.
(EMC 2009.0239) M.R.A.
209. Edgar (959–75), Circumscription Cross type, North 749, Cricklade, Sigewold
Obv. +HEADGAR REX ANGLORVM
Rev. +SIGEPOLD M-O CROCIC
Weight: 1.37 g. Die axis 45°.
Cricklade, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 29 March 2009. Found by James Belk.
The mint and moneyer are previously unrecorded in this type. This seems to be the earliest known coin of the Cricklade mint.
(EMC 2009.0148) M.R.A.
210. Edgar (959–75), Bust Crowned type, North 750, Folchard
Obv. +HEADGÆR REX
Rev. +FOLCHÆRD MONETA
Weight: 1.34 g (chipped and cracked).
Bungay, Suffolk. M/d find, August 2009.
(EMC 2009.0290) A.B.M.
211. Edgar (959–75), Bust Crowned type, North 750–1
Obv. []R RE+
Rev. +[]MONEAT
Weight: 0.59 g (fragment). Die axis 0°.
Wix, Essex. M/d find, 18 November 2009.
(EMC 2009.0377) C.M.
212. Edgar (959–75), Reform Portrait type, North 752, Ipswich, Leofric
Obv. +EA[]GAR REX ANGLORX
Rev. +LEOF[]IC M-O GIPES
Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.
Chichester, near, Sussex. M/d find, 2009. Found by Terry Garrett.
(EMC 2009.0302) M.R.A.

213. Edgar (959–75), Reform Portrait type, North 752, Lympne, uncertain moneyer
Obv. []ADGA[]
Rev. []OO LIME[]
 Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 0°.
 Bodicote, Oxfordshire. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0322) M.C.
214. Edgar (959–75), Reform Portrait type, North 752, Norwich, Brantinc
Obv. +HEADGAR REX ANGLORX
Rev. +BRANTINC M-O NOR-D
 Weight: 1.56 g.
 Norfolk. M/d find, by 2008.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer for the type.
 (EMC 2009.0129) J.Cross
215. Edgar (959–75), Reform Portrait type, North 752, York, Fastulf
Obv. []GAR RE[]
Rev. []ASTV[]
 Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 240°.
 Folkestone, near, Kent. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0294) M.C.
216. Edward the Martyr (975–78), North 763, York, Winebald
Obv. +HEADPEARD REX A
Rev. +WINEBALD.EFERI
 Weight: 1.3 g (cracked). Die axis 0°.
 Bedale, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 26 July 2009.
 Found by Darren Pendleton.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer at the York mint.
 (EMC 2009.0240) M.R.A.
217. Edward the Martyr (975–78) or Æthelred II (978–1016) First Small Cross type, uncertain mint, Leofwine
Obv. []D REX ANGL[]
Rev. []EOFPINE M-O[]
 Weight: 0.54 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 0°.
 Great Barton, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0090) A.B.
218. Æthelred II (978–1016), First Small Cross type, York, Oda
Obv. +ÆDELRED REX AG
Rev. +[]DA M-O EFERPIC
 Weight: 1.2 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
 Revesby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009. Found by John Ogden.
 (EMC 2009.0380) M.R.A.
219. Æthelred II (978–1016), First Hand type, North 766, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +ÆDEL[]
Rev. []STAN[]
 Weight not recorded (cut farthing, chipped). Die axis 180°.
 Thetford, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0408) M.C.
220. Æthelred II (978–1016), Crux type, North 770, Canterbury, Eadwold
Obv. +ÆDELRED REX ANGLORX
Rev. +HEADPOLD M-O CÆNT
 Weight not recorded (bent and cracked). Die axis 0°.
 Wix, Essex. M/d find, 29 September 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0327) C.M.
221. Æthelred II (978–1016), Crux type, North 770, London, Ælfwine
Obv. +ÆDELRED REX ANGLORX
Rev. +ÆLFPINE M-O LVN (NE ligated)
 Weight: 1.25 g. Die axis 180°.
 Whittlesford, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 23 May 2009.
 Found by John Webb.
 (EMC 2009.0185) M.R.A.
222. Æthelred II (978–1016), Crux type, North 770, Stamford, Godleof
Obv. +Æ-D[]JRX
Rev. []ODEL[]
 Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 270°.
 Wix, Essex. M/d find, 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0331) C.M.
223. Æthelred II (978–1016), Long Cross type, North 774, Lewes, Herebyrht
Obv. +ÆDELRED REX ANGLORX (NG ligated)
Rev. +HEREBYRHT MO LEP
 Weight: 1.62 g.
 Eastbourne, near, Sussex. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0305) A.W.
224. Æthelred II (978–1016), Long Cross type, North 774, Lincoln, Dreng
Obv. +ÆDELRED REX A[]
Rev. +DRENG M-O LI[]
 Weight not recorded (cracked and chipped). Die axis 270°.
 Hollingbourne, near, Kent. M/d find, 2000. Found by Martin Grist.
 (EMC 2009.0006) M.R.A.
225. Æthelred II (978–1016), Last Small Cross type, North 777, Ipswich, Leofsige
Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGL
Rev. +LEOFZIGE MON GIPE
 Weight: 1.41 g.
 Carlton Colville, Suffolk. M/d find, c.2000. Found by A. Charlton.
 (PAS SF-6A7243; EMC 2009.0020) A.B.
226. Cnut (1016–35), Quatrefoil type, North 781, Norwich, Ringulf
Obv. +CNVT REX ANGLOR
Rev. +RINGVLFV NOR
 Weight: 0.79 g.
 Norwich, Norfolk. M/d find, April 2007.
 (EMC 2009.0171) A.Barnett
227. Cnut (1016–35), Quatrefoil type, North 781, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +CNVT[]LORV
Rev. []DPINE M[]
 Weight not recorded (chipped and bent). Die axis 0°.
 Meldreth, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 21 August 2009.
 The dies are of a Lincoln style.
 (EMC 2009.0278) M.R.A.
228. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, York, Farthein
Obv. +CNVT RECX
Rev. +FAR.RDEIN ON EOFE
 Weight: 0.98 g. Die axis 0°.
 Exning, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by John Baxter.
 (EMC 2009.0280) M.R.A.

229. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, York, Thorgrim
Ov. +CNVT RECX:
Rev. +ÐVRIM ON EOFE
 Weight not recorded.
 Papworth Everard, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2009.
 Reported by Terence Maudlin.
 From the same dies as *SCBI* 51, no. 936.
 (EMC 2009.0119) M.R.A.
230. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, North 790, uncertain mint, Wulfwine
Ov. +CNV[]X:
Rev. +PVLFINEON[]
 Weight: 0.90 g (two fragments). Die axis 180°.
 Charminster, Dorset. M/d find, March 2009. Found by Paul Shannon.
 (EMC 2009.0234) M.R.A.
231. Harold I (1035–40), Jewel Cross type, North 802, London, Godwine Stewer
Ov. +HÆROLD REX
Rev. +GODPINESTP ONLY (NL ligated)
 Weight: 1.1 g.
 Hollingbourne, near, Kent. M/d find, 1997.
 (EMC 2009.0184) M.R.A.
232. Harold I (1035–40), Fleur-de-lis type, North 803, Cambridge, Wulfwine
Ov. +HÆROLD[R] JX
Rev. +PVLFINE O GRÆ (NE ligated)
 Weight: 1.00 g (cracked). Die axis 270°.
 Biggleswade, near, Bedfordshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Russell Fergie.
 From the same reverse die as *SCBI* 18, nos 145–7.
 (EMC 2009.0192) M.R.A.
233. Harold I (1035–40), Fleur-de-lis type, North 803, London, Leofric
Ov. +HÆROLD REC[]
Rev. +LEOFRIC ON LVN
 Weight: 1.01 g (chipped). Die axis 0°.
 Ixworth, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2008. Found by Alan Smith.
 (PAS SF-6BD715; EMC 2009.0050) A.B.
234. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Radiate-Small Cross type, North 816, Lincoln, Godric
Ov. +EDPERD REX: Å
Rev. +GODRIC ON LINNCO (NN ligated)
 Weight not recorded.
 Garboldisham, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0118) T.M.
235. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Radiate-Small Cross type, North 816, Thetford, Mana
Ov. +EDPERD REX
Rev. +MĀNA ONNON ÐEO
 Weight not recorded.
 Eye, near, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0409) M.R.A.
236. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Trefoil Quadrilateral type, North 817, London, Ælfwig
Ov. +EDPERDRRRE
Rev. +ÆLFPI:ON LVNDE
 Weight: 0.93 g (cracked). Die axis 180°.
- Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 22 March 2009.
 Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2009.0075) M.R.A.
237. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Trefoil Quadrilateral type, North 817, Oxford, Æthelric
Ov. +EDPERD REX
Rev. +ÆGRLRIC ON OCXE
 Weight not recorded.
 Oxford, near, Oxfordshire. M/d find, September 2009.
 Found by Simon Neal.
 (EMC 2009.0293) M.R.A.
238. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, Canterbury, Mana
Ov. +EDPE[]
Rev. +[MĀNA O]NCENT (NC ligated)
 Weight: 0.4 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 0°.
 Firle, East Sussex. M/d find, September 2007.
 From the same reverse die as no. 239 below.
 (EMC 2009.0104) D.H.
239. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Small Flan type, North 818, Canterbury, Mana
Ov. +EDPERD RE
Rev. +MĀNA ONCENT (NC ligated)
 Weight not recorded.
 Lydd, Kent. M/d find, by 2009. Found by John Poole.
 From the same reverse die as no. 238 above.
 (EMC 2009.0108) M.R.A.
240. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Expanding Cross type, light issue, North 820, Cambridge, Ælfwig
Ov. +EDPRD REX
Rev. +ÆLFPI ON GRÆTEB
 Weight: 1.06 g. Die axis 0°.
 Bottisham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2008. Found by John Baxter.
 (EMC 2009.0281) M.R.A.
241. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Expanding Cross type, heavy issue, North 823, Gloucester, Eawulf
Ov. +EDPE:RD REX:
Rev. +[E]APVLF ON GLEPECE
 Weight: 0.69 g (cut halfpenny, in two pieces). Die axis 0°.
 Postwick, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2009. Found by David Soanes.
 From the same dies as *SCBI* 19, nos 87–8.
 (Norfolk HER 30401; EMC 2009.0410) A.B.M./M.R.A.
242. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Expanding Cross type, heavy issue, North 823, Lincoln, Godric
Ov. +EDPE.RD REX
Rev. +GODRIC ON LINCO
 Weight: 1.66 g.
 Oxborough, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Malcolm Parker.
 (EMC 2009.0356) M.R.A.
243. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Expanding Cross type, heavy issue, North 823, Winchcombe, Goldwine
Ov. +EDPERD REX
Rev. +GOLDPINE ON PINC
 Weight: 1.5 g.
 Chichester, near, Sussex. M/d find, August 2009. Found by Terry Garrett.
 (EMC 2009.0297) M.R.A.

244. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Pointed Helmet type, North 825, London, Ælfwine
Ov. []**DPERD REX**
Rev. []**EΛLFPI[JE ON LVNDEN**
 Weight: 0.92 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
 Broome, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (Norfolk HER 30185; EMC 2009.0287) A.B.M.
245. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Sovereign/Eagles type, North 827, Hastings, Brid
Ov. []**EAD[]LOI**
Rev. []**BRID:ON I[]**
 Weight: 0.6 g (fragment: about half of the coin). Die axis 270°.
 Becontree, near, Barking and Dagenham. M/d find, c.2000.
 (EMC 2009.0397) T.M.
246. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Sovereign/Eagles type, North 827, Norwich?, uncertain moneyer
Ov. E[]**RD[]**
Rev. []**SV[]NOR**
 Weight: 0.55 g (cut halfpenny, cracked). Die axis 270°.
 Wendling, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2009. Found by Vince Butler.
 (Norfolk HER 42701; EMC 2009.0411) A.B.M.
247. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Sovereign/Eagles type, North 827, Warwick, Leofinc
Ov. []**PE[JR[]AG[]**
Rev. []**LEOF[]PERI**
 Weight: 0.52 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 180°.
 Stowmarket, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Rob Goodwin.
 (PAS SKT SF-D86945; EMC 2009.0260) A.B.
248. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Hammer Cross type, North 828, uncertain mint, Godric
Ov. []**RD REX**
Rev. []**GODRIC[]**
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 180°.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, November 2008.
 Found by Kevin Pearce.
 (EMC 2009.0168) M.R.A.
249. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Bust Facing/Small Cross type, North 830, Leicester, Godric
Ov. []**EADPARD REX[]**
Rev. []**GODRIC ON LEHR (HR ligated)**
 Weight not recorded.
 Souldrop, Bedfordshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by David Larner.
 (EMC 2009.0238) M.R.A.
250. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Bust Facing/Small Cross type, North 830, Lincoln, Eadric
Ov. **EADPÆD REX ĀNG**
Rev. []**EDRIC ON LINCO**
 Weight: 1.02 g. Die axis 90°.
 Mareham on the Hill, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2009.
 Found by Alan Wootton.
 From the same dies as BMC 734 (Mossop pl. LXXIX, no. 1).
 (EMC 2009.0335) M.R.A.
251. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Bust Facing/Small Cross type, North 830, Wallingford, Brihtmær
Ov. []**EPDM.II[RM?]IIOLR**
- Rev.* **+BRIHTMÆR.ONPA**
 Weight not recorded.
 Swindon, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, 14 November 2009.
 Found by Rob Abbott.
 (EMC 2009.0372) M.R.A.
252. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Bust Facing/Small Cross type, North 830, York, Othbeorn
Ov. **+EDPÆRD REX**
Rev. **+OÐBOREN ON EO**
 Weight not recorded. Die axis 270°.
 Burstwick, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 31 July 2009.
 Found by Darren Tooheie.
 (EMC 2009.0244) M.R.A.
253. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Pyramids type, North 831, Norwich, Godwine
Ov. **EADPÆRD REX**
Rev. **+GODPINE ONORÐ**
 Weight: 1.15 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.
 Postwick, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by R. Crawford.
 (Norfolk HER 9649; EMC 2010.0001) A.B.M.
- Post-Conquest English and Medieval Scottish*
254. William I (1066–87), Bonnet type, *BMC* ii, North 842, London, Aldgar
Ov. **+PILLEMVS REX**
Rev. **+ALDGAR ON LVN**
 Weight: 1.15 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.
 Clavering, Essex. M/d find, April 2009. Found by Neil Bayford.
 (EMC 2009.0187) M.R.A.
255. William I (1066–87), Canopy type, *BMC* iii, North 843, Wallingford, Brand
Ov. **+PILLEMVS REX**
Rev. **+BRAND ON PALINGI**
 Weight not recorded (cracked).
 Wisbech, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, December 2008.
 Found by Russell Cook.
 (EMC 2009.0001) M.R.A.
256. William I (1066–87), Two Sceptres type, *BMC* iv, North 844, Thetford, Liofric
Ov. **+PILLELM RE ANN (NN ligated)**
Rev. **+LIOFRIC ON ĐIOTNI**
 Weight: 1.28 g.
 Ringland, near, Norfolk. M/d find, October 2009.
 Reported by John Philpotts.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer for the Thetford mint in the reign of William I.
 (EMC 2009.0405) M.R.A.
257. William I (1066–87), Two Sceptres type, *BMC* iv, North 844, uncertain mint, Godric
Ov. **+PILL[]JNG**
Rev. **+GODRI[C?]I[]I**
 Weight: 0.47 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 90°.
 Mildenhall, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by John Baxter.
 (EMC 2009.0282) M.R.A.
258. William I (1066–87), Two Stars type, *BMC* v, North 845, Thetford, Folcard
Ov. **+PILLEM REX AN**
Rev. **+FOLCERD ON ĐTI**
 Weight not recorded.

- Felbrigg, near, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2009. Found by Simon Dawson.
(EMC 2009.0416) M.R.A.
259. William I (1066–87), Two Stars type, *BMC* v, North 845, York, Outhgrin
Obv. +PILL[]IGL
Rev. +OVDIG[R?]I]
Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny, chipped). Die axis 270°.
Shaftesbury, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2009.
(EMC 2010.0003) M.R.A.
260. William I (1066–87), Sword type, *BMC* vi, North 846, Hereford, Æstan
Obv. +PILLELM REX
Rev. +IESTAN ON HR[E?]FI
Weight not recorded (broken and piece missing from the centre).
Kingston upon Hull. M/d find, 2009. Found by Michael Smith.
A new type for a moneyer previously recorded only in William I *BMC* type iv.
(EMC 2009.0367) M.R.A.
261. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, London, Wulfwine
Obv. +PILLE[]REX
Rev. []LPINE ON LV
Weight not recorded (chipped and cracked). Die axis 270°.
South Owersby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2008. Reported by Mark Winiger.
(EMC 2009.0013) M.W.
262. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, Sudbury, Wulfric
Obv. +PILLELM REX
Rev. +PVLFRIC ON SVÐ
Weight: 1.32 g.
Market Rasen, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2008. Found by Graham Hunt.
(EMC 2009.0298) M.R.A.
263. William I (1066–87) or William II (1087–1100), Paxs type, William I *BMC* viii, North 848, Wallingford, Æthelwine
Obv. +PILLELM REX
Rev. +ÆGLPINE ON PAL
Weight not recorded.
Ripplingham, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2008. Reported by Darren Toohe.
(EMC 2009.0003) M.R.A.
264. William I (1066–87) or William II (1087–1100), Paxs type, William I *BMC* viii, North 848, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +[]
Rev. +BRI[]
Weight: 0.28 g (cut farthing). Die axis 270°.
Mildenhall, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by John Baxter.
(EMC 2009.0283) M.R.A.
265. William II (1087–1100), Cross Voided type, *BMC* iii, North 853, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +PIL[]
Rev. [][N?]Ð[]O[]
- Weight: 0.38 g (cut halfpenny, cracked and chipped). Wigmore Castle, Herefordshire. Excavation find, 1996.
Found in 1996 during excavations conducted by Marches Archaeology for English Heritage. The report on the excavations is now being prepared by Stephanie Rátkai of Barbican Research Associates. The coin is noted here with their kind permission.
(EMC 2009.0371) D.J.S.
266. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* ii, North 858, Lewes, Winred
Obv. +HENRI REX
Rev. +PIN[]ED ONLE (NL ligated)
Weight: 1.16 g. Die axis 90°.
Newmarket, near, Suffolk. M/d find, September 2009. Found by John Baxter.
(EMC 2009.0320) M.R.A.
267. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* ii, North 858, London, Smeawine
Obv. +HENRI RE
Rev. +SMPIE ON LVND
Weight: 1.30 g. Die axis 270°.
Fen Ditton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by John Baxter.
From the same dies as *SCBI* 51, no. 1153.
(EMC 2009.0319) M.R.A.
268. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, North 859, Huntingdon, Ælfwine
Obv. +HENRI REI
Rev. +IELFPINE ON HV
Weight not recorded.
Bythorn, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, c.2004. Found by David Larner.
(EMC 2009.0237) M.R.A.
269. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, North 859, Norwich, Howard
Obv. +HENRIRE+E
Rev. +HOR[II?]Ð ONORÐPI
Weight: 1.29 g.
Gloucestershire. M/d find, 2009.
From the same dies as *SCBI* 16, no. 296.
(EMC 2009.0191) J.P./M.R.A.
270. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, North 859, Norwich, Howard
Obv. +HE[]REII
Rev. +H[ID?]Ð]NOR[]
Weight: 1.14 g (cracked and chipped). Die axis 270°.
Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Roy Davis.
(EMC 2009.0275) M.R.A.
271. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, North 859, Winchester, Godwine
Obv. []RI REEEI
Rev. +G[]NE ON PIN
Weight: 1.24 g (creased and small perforation). Die axis 90°.
Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Roy Davis.
(EMC 2009.0274) M.R.A.
272. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, North 859, York, Outhbern
Obv. +H[]NRI REX

- Rev. +O[DI?]TBERN[]E[]*
Weight: 1.26 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, April 2009.
Found by David Shepherd.
A previously unrecorded type for the moneyer.
(EMC 2009.0182) M.R.A.
273. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, North 859,
uncertain mint and moneyer.
Obv. []RI RE[]
Rev. []I[S?]IN[]
Weight not recorded (fragment).
Wragby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, August 2009. Found
by Adam Staples.
(EMC 2009.0269) M.R.A.
274. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC*
iv, North 860, Bristol, Cendi
Obv. +hENR[]EX (NR ligated)
Rev. +CENDI ON B[] (Ns reversed)
Weight: 1.1 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.
Greetwell, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by
M. Moore.
A previously unrecorded type for the moneyer.
(PAS LVPL-4873A4; EMC 2009.0169) F.Mc./M.R.A.
275. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC*
iv, North 860, Canterbury, Algar
Obv. +hENRIC REX (NR ligated)
Rev. +ALGAR ON CAN
Weight: 1.3 g.
Greetwell, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009. Found by
John Ogden.
A previously unrecorded moneyer for the Canterbury
mint in the reign of Henry I.
(EMC 2009.0378) M.R.A.
276. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC*
iv, North 860, York, Ulfciil
Obv. +HENRIRRE (NR ligated)
Rev. +VLFCI[]ON EFPI
Weight not recorded.
Oxeas Wood, Greenwich. M/d find, by 2009. Reported
by John Cross.
The moneyer is previously unrecorded for the York
mint in the reign of Henry I.
(EMC 2009.0364) M.R.A.
277. Henry I (1100–35), Voided Cross and Fleurs type,
BMC v, North 861, Lincoln, Godric
Obv. +[]NRI REX
Rev. +GO[]IC[]NLINCOL
Weight: 1.29 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.
Northampton, near, Northamptonshire. M/d find, by
2009. Found by Hugh Vincent.
(DNW 30 September 2009, lot 3841; EMC 2009.0318)
M.R.A.
278. Henry I (1100–35), Voided Cross and Fleurs type,
BMC v, North 861, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +h[]
Rev. []RED:ON[]
Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 0°.
Bedfordshire. M/d find, by 2009.
(EMC 2009.0289) M.C.
279. Henry I (1100–35), Quatrefoil with Piles type,
BMC vii, North 863, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []ENRIC REX
Rev. []IR:ON[]
Weight: 1.15 g (bent).
Debden, Essex. M/d find, 10 October 2009. Found by
Jonathan Temple.
(EMC 2009.0346) M.R.A.
280. Henry I (1100–35), Full Face/Cross Fleury type,
BMC x, North 866, Southwark, Leofwine
Obv. +hENRICVS REX AN
Rev. []LEFPINE:O[]:[]VD?][]
Weight: 1.22 g (bent, cracked and chipped). Die axis
90°.
Great Wakering, Essex. M/d find, 23 October 2009.
Found by Ian Crook.
(EMC 2009.0354) M.R.A.
281. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross and Annulets
type, *BMC* xii, North 868, Huntingdon, Ælfwine
Obv. +hENRICVS
Rev. +AL[]PIN:ON:hVN
Weight: 1.35 g. Die axis 240°.
Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire. 18 April 2009. Found
by Simon Ashford.
A previously unrecorded type for the moneyer.
(EMC 2009.0154) M.R.A.
282. Henry I (1100–35), Pellets in Quatrefoil type, *BMC*
xiv, North 870, Canterbury, Gregorie
Obv. []N[]VS R[]
Rev. +GREGA[]
Weight: 1.1 g (cracked and chipped). Die axis 340°.
Ringwould, near Walmer, Kent. M/d find, September
2008.
(EMC 2009.0106) D.H.
283. Henry I (1100–35), Pellets in Quatrefoil type, *BMC*
xiv, North 870, Leicester, Chitellus
Obv. +hENRICVS R
Rev. +Chl[TEL]LVS:ON:LEIC
Weight not recorded (snicked and chipped). Die axis
180°.
Walsham on the Wolds, Leicestershire. M/d find,
16 August 2009. Found by Ken Prichett.
Same dies as Allen, *BNJ* 79, nos 206–7.
(EMC 2010.0039) M.R.A.
284. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury
type, *BMC* xv, North 871, Winchester, Godwine
Obv. []RICV[]
Rev. +G[]WIN[]
Weight: 1.30 g. Die axis 180°.
Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 12 April 2008.
Found by Mark Duell.
(EMC 2009.0179) M.R.A.
285. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury
type, *BMC* xv, North 871, uncertain mint (Shrewsbury?),
uncertain moneyer
Obv. []C[]
Rev. []:[]SREV[]
Weight not recorded.
Romney Marsh, Kent. M/d find, August 2009.
The mint may be Shrewsbury, which would be a
previously unrecorded mint for the type.
(EMC 2009.0402) M.R.A.

286. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* xv, North 871, uncertain mint, Osbern
Obv. []EN[]
Rev. []SBE[]
 Weight: 0.47 g (cut halfpenny).
 Hitcham, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2008.
 (PAS SF-35EE47; EMC 2009.0008) A.B.
287. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* xv, North 871, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +HENRICVS
Rev. []RD:[]
 Weight not recorded (long incision). Die axis 270°.
 Long Melford, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0112) C.Mycock
288. Henry I (1100–35), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* xv, North 871, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []RICVS[]
Rev. []WVL[]
 Weight: 0.33 g (cut farthing). Die axis 90°.
 Debden, Essex. M/d find, 2009. Found by Jonathan Temple.
 (EMC 2009.0347) M.R.A.
289. Henry I (1100–35), halfpenny, North 872, uncertain mint (Northampton or Norwich), Turstan
Obv. +HENRIC REX
Rev. +TVRSTA[]NO
 Weight: 0.55 g (snicked). Die axis 270°.
 Sutton Bridge, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 26 March 2009.
 A previously unrecorded moneyer for the Northampton or Norwich mints in the reign of Henry I. A moneyer of that name has been recorded at Stamford in Henry I types 3, 7 and 11, and at an unidentified mint 'WA-' in type 7.
 (EMC 2009.0131) R.C./M.R.A.
290. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Bristol, Turchil
Obv. +STIF[NE][]X
Rev. +TVRChIL[:ON:B][]
 Weight not recorded.
 Charlton Abbots, Gloucestershire. M/d find, 2009.
 From the same dies as *SCBI* 48, no. 1167.
 (EMC 2009.0228) M.R.A.
291. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 874, Chichester, Godwine
Obv. +STIEFN[]
Rev. +GODPINE:ON:C[]E: (NE ligated)
 Weight not recorded (chipped).
 Castlemorton, Worcestershire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Dean Crawford.
 (EMC 2009.0229) M.R.A.
292. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Exeter, Algar
Obv. +[]FNE REX
Rev. []AR:ON:EX[]
 Weight: 1.17 g.
 Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 From the same dies as *SCBI* 18, no. 1395 and from the same rev. die as no. 293 below.
 (EMC 2009.0304) A.W./M.R.A.
293. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Exeter, Algar
Obv. +ST[]
Rev. []AR:ON:EXC[E][]
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.
 Romney Marsh, Kent. M/d find, August 2009.
 From the same reverse die as *SCBI* 18, no. 1395 and no. 292 above.
 (EMC 2009.0403) P.T./M.R.A.
294. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Exeter, Algar
Obv. +STIFNE REX
Rev. []LGAR:ON:EXEC[]
 Weight not recorded. Die axis 180°.
 Corfe Castle, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2009. Found by Nicholas Green.
 (EMC 2009.0316) M.R.A.
295. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 874, Lincoln, Siward
Obv. []EFNE[]
Rev. +SIP[]NICO
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 270°.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Paul Slack.
 (EMC 2009.0226) M.R.A.
296. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Norwich, Ædstan
Obv. []E R
Rev. +ÆD[]OR[]
 Weight: 0.71 g (three fragments). Die axis 270°.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, c.2007. Found by Kevin Pearce.
 (EMC 2009.0223) M.R.A.
297. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Nottingham, Swein
Obv. []EFNE[]
Rev. +SPE[]NOT
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.
 Newark, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 2004. Found by Paul Slack.
 (EMC 2009.0205) M.R.A.
298. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, Southwark, uncertain moneyer
Obv. +[]
Rev. +[]SVD
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny, chipped). Die axis 240°.
 Moggerhanger, Bedfordshire. M/d find, 14 June 2009. Found by Wayne Davies.
 (EMC 2009.0194) M.R.A.
299. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, uncertain mint (DELCA), Willelm
Obv. +[]TIE[]NE R
Rev. +[]LLEM:ON:DELCA
 Weight: 1.46 g.
 Clifton Reynes, Milton Keynes. M/d find, 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0267) A.W.
300. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, North 873, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []E[F?][]E[]
Rev. []I[]O[]

- Weight: 1.07 g (chipped).
Bristol area, Somerset. M/d find, by 2009.
An irregular variety with a sceptre consisting of a bar with a cross pattee at both ends.
(EMC 2009.0124) J.Sadler/M.R.A.
301. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, annulet on shoulder and on rev., North 888
Obv. Illegible.
Rev. Illegible.
Weight not recorded (chipped).
Chelveston, Northamptonshire. M/d find, July 2008.
Found by Mick Gardner.
(EMC 2009.0096) M.R.A.
302. Stephen (1135–54), Erased dies, long cross on obverse, North 924, uncertain East Anglian mint and moneyer
Obv. []NE R
Rev. []:ON:[]
Weight: 0.84 g (chipped).
Norwich (Fishergate), Norfolk. Excavation find, 2005.
(EMC 2009.0164) A.Barnett
303. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, Ipswich, Rogier
Obv. +STEIFNE
Rev. +TROGIER:ON:GIPE
Weight not recorded.
Framlingham, Suffolk. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Dean Crawford.
(EMC 2009.0349) M.R.A.
304. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, London, Gefrei
Obv. +STIEFNE
Rev. +GEFREI:ON:LVN
Weight not recorded.
Lenham, near, Kent. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Martin Grist.
(EMC 2009.0336) M.R.A.
305. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, Norwich, Stanart
Obv. +STIEFN[]
Rev. +STANERT:ON[]NO[]
Weight not recorded. Die axis 180°.
Easton, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
A previously unrecorded type for a moneyer also known in Henry I types 7, 8, 10 and 14.
(EMC 2009.0288) P.Mur./M.R.A.
306. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, Norwich, Stanchil
Obv. +STIEFNE
Rev. []TANCHIL:ON:NO[]
Weight not recorded.
Framlingham, Suffolk. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Dean Crawford.
(EMC 2009.0348) M.R.A.
307. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +[]
Rev. []ON[]
Weight: 0.36 g (fragment of cut halfpenny). Die axis 0°.
Foulsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 28 March 2009. Found by Andy Carter.
(EMC 2009.0159) M.R.A.
308. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Voided and Mullets type, *BMC* ii, North 878, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. +STIE[]
Rev. +RÄ[]
Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 0°.
Woolpit, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Alan Smith.
The moneyer is Randul (Colchester) or Rawulf (Norwich or Rye).
(EMC 2009.0285) M.R.A.
309. Stephen (1135–54), Profile/Cross and Piles type, *BMC* vi, North 879, Castle Rising, Rodbert
Obv. []NRE: (NR ligated)
Rev. []RT:ON[]IS[]
Weight: 0.81 g (chipped). Die axis 300°.
Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
(EMC 2009.0130) D.D.
310. Stephen (1135–54), Profile/Cross and Piles type, *BMC* vi, North 879, Lewes, uncertain moneyer
Obv. +ST[]
Rev. +[]LEV
Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 130°.
Rochester, near, Medway. M/d find, by 2009.
(EMC 2009.0292) M.C.
311. Stephen (1135–54), Profile/Cross and Piles type, *BMC* vi, North 879, Norwich, Thor
Obv. +STIEFNE
Rev. +TO[]:NOR
Weight: 1.31 g (chipped and cracked). Die axis 0°.
Wetheringsett, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Colin Reeve.
(PAS WCB SF-2C6230; EMC 2009.0247) A.B.
312. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Castle Rising, Iun
Obv. []STIEFN[]
Rev. +IVN[]SIN
Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 0°.
Weston, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 2 August 2009. Found by Andrew Johnson.
From dies not recorded by Allen, *BNJ* 76.
(EMC 2009.0263) M.R.A.
313. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Castle Rising, Iun
Obv. []STI[]
Rev. []SIN[G?][]
Weight not recorded (cut farthing, chipped). Die axis 180°.
King's Lynn, near, Norfolk. M/d find, by 2009.
Reported by David Bailey.
Dies not recorded by Allen, *BNJ* 76.
(EMC 2009.0401) M.R.A.
314. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Chester, Rodbert
Obv. +STI[]NE
Rev. +RO[D?][]:O[]:CES
Weight not recorded. Die axis 90°.
Poringland, Norfolk. M/d find, August 2009. Found by Denise Pye.
A previously unrecorded mint for the type, and a new moneyer for the Chester mint.
(Norfolk HER 53059; EMC 2009.0330) A.B.M./M.R.A.

315. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Hereford, Saric
Ov. +STIE[FNE:]
Rev. [+SĀR][] [N:H]REF
 Weight: 0.53 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 90°.
 Foulsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 28 March 2009. Found by Andy Carter.
 From the same dies as Allen, *BNJ* 76, nos 79–80.
 (Norfolk HER 35718; EMC 2009.0160)
 A.B.M./M.R.A.
316. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, Lincoln, Hue
Ov. +STI[EFNE]
Rev. +hVE:O[N:][] [NC]O
 Weight not recorded (chipped and cracked). Die axis 90°.
 Melbourne, Derbyshire. M/d find, October 2006. Found by Lisa Staples.
 Same dies as Allen, *BNJ* 76, nos 104–7.
 (EMC 2009.0272) M.R.A.
317. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, London, Adam
Ov. +STIEFNE
Rev. +TĀDĀM[]N:LVND
 Weight: 1.3 g (chipped). Die axis 90°.
 Revesby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2009. Found by John Ogden.
 (EMC 2009.0379) M.R.A.
318. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, uncertain mint, Willelm
Ov. []NE
Rev. +PIL[]
 Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 230°.
 Woolpit, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Alan Smith.
 (EMC 2009.0286) M.R.A.
319. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, var., bust three-quarters right
Ov. +[SEINN:RIN:] (S on its side, E reversed)
Rev. +TNN[EIDIIR?:IOEI]
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny).
 Wawne, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2008. Reported by Darren Toohie.
 From the same dies as Allen, *BNJ* 76, nos 372–5, and no. 320 below.
 (EMC 2009.0002) M.R.A.
320. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, var., bust three-quarters right
Ov. +SE[INNRIN:] (S on its side, E reversed)
Rev. [+TNNE]IDI[IR?:IOEI]
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 300°.
 Wragby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 18 August 2009. Found by Adam Staples.
 Same dies as Allen, *BNJ* 76, nos 372–5, and no. 319 above.
 (EMC 2009.0271) M.R.A.
321. Stephen (1135–54), Midlands Group, *BMC* iii, North 896, Northampton, Paen
Ov. +SIEFNER
Rev. +PAEN:ON:NORh
 Weight not recorded (cracked).
 Newport Pagnell, near, Milton Keynes. M/d find, 5 April 2009. Found by Daniel Williams.
 (EMC 2009.0174) M.R.A.
322. Stephen (1135–54), Midlands Group, *BMC* iii, North 896, Northampton, Willem
Ov. +S[TIEFNE]
Rev. [+PILLEM]:ON:[NOR]
 Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 270°.
 East Anglia. M/d find, by 2009.
 From the same dies as Mack, *BNJ* 35, no. 69.
 (EMC 2009.0374) M.C./M.R.A.
323. Stephen (1135–54), Southern Group, *BMC* i var., ANT type, North 905, Southampton, uncertain moneyer
Ov. +STEF[]
Rev. []ANT[]
 Weight not recorded (cracked).
 Blewbury, Oxfordshire. M/d find, April 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0173) M.W.
324. Stephen (1135–54), Scottish border, *BMC* i var., long voided cross, North 908, Newcastle, uncertain moneyer
Ov. []TII:ENĀOIST[]
Rev. []IDIT:CISI
 Weight: 0.67 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 60°.
 'Northumbria'. M/d find, 2009.
 A new type with a mitred bust carrying a crozier, possibly representing William Cumin, usurper to the bishopric of Durham from 1141 to 1144.
 (EMC 2009.0224) M.R.A.
325. Stephen (1135–54), Scottish border *BMC* i var., long voided cross, North 908, Newcastle, uncertain moneyer
Ov. []R?]I
Rev. +II:[]
 Weight not recorded (cut farthing). Die axis 180°.
 Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk. M/d find, by 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0277) M.C./M.R.A.
326. David I of Scotland (1124–53) in the name of Stephen (1135–54), as Stephen *BMC* i, North 909, Carlisle, Hudard
Ov. +STIFNE R[E:+]
Rev. +VDĀRD:O[N:CĀRD:]
 Weight not recorded (chipped and bent). Die axis 300°.
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 17 April 2009. Found by Kevin Pearce.
 From the same dies as a coin in the Sheldon hoard (*BNJ* VII (1910), pl. II, 24).
 (EMC 2009.0155) M.R.A.
327. Henry of Northumbria, Cross Crosslet type, North 914, Bamburgh?, Willelm
Ov. +STIFENE RE
Rev. +:WI:LEL:M:ONC:B[]
 Weight: 1.23 g.
 Heacham, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by S. Hammond.
 Same obv. die as Mack, *BNJ* 35, no. 288.
 (Norfolk HER 51073; EMC 2009.0357) A.B.M./M.R.A.
328. Stephen (1135–54), Flag type, North 919, York
Ov. []EFNE R
Rev. +hT[]D?]V
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny, chipped). Die axis 300°.
 Newark, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 2003. Found by Paul Slack.
 (EMC 2009.0230) M.R.A.

329. Stephen (1135–54), Lozenge Sceptre type, North 920, York
Obv. []**STIEN**
Rev. Border of ornaments.
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny).
 Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2007. Found by Paul Slack.
 (EMC 2009.0227) M.R.A.
330. Stephen (1135–54), ‘Palm Branch’ Sceptre type, York
Obv. []**T[]FNE R[]**
Rev. **+rosette**[I] []**OI**[shield]**V[]**
 Weight: 0.40 g. Die axis 330°.
 Doncaster, near. M/d find, by 2009.
 A new variant in the York Group, with a palm branch (?) in place of the sceptre on the obverse, possibly referring to the Second Crusade (1147–49). Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum.
 (EMC 2009.0132) M.R.A.
331. Baronial type as Stephen *BMC* ii, ‘Roger De’
Obv. **+ROGER:DE**
Rev. **+OD?JEMER:R:ON:TI:** (**ME** ligated)
 Weight not recorded.
 Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2008.
 A previously unrecorded type copying Stephen type ii but in the name of ‘Roger De’.
 (EMC 2009.0417) M.R.A.
332. Henry (of Anjou?), Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, North 940/2, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. []**ENR[]**
Rev. **+E[L][]**
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.
 South Oxfordshire? M/d find, 2009.
 A new variant of Mack, *BNJ* 35, nos 252–3 with a round cap in place of the crown and three annulets around the head of a sceptre without a lis. The inscription on the reverse may be related to the partly illegible inscription of Mack 252 ([]ELFRE[]A[]).
 (EMC 2009.0241) J.P./M.R.A.
333. Patrick of Salisbury, North 947 var., Salisbury, Stanung?
Obv. []**SR?**
Rev. []**G?ON:[]**
 Weight: 0.47 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 90°.
 Ludgershall, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, September 2001. Found by Richard Jones.
 (EMC 2009.0399) M.R.A.
334. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class A, Norwich, Reiner
Obv. []**X ANGL[]**
Rev. **+REINER:O[]**
 Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 180°.
 Little Raveley, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 21 March 2009. Found by Tim Jackson.
 (EMC 2009.0059) M.R.A.
335. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class A1, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. Illegible.
Rev. **+RIC[]**
 Weight: 0.56 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 300°.
 Coddenham, Suffolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Colin Hall.
 (PAS: CDD SF-CA0121; EMC 2009.0262) A.B.
336. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class C, London, uncertain moneyer
Obv. **+HENRI[R[]]**
Rev. []**D:ON:LV[]**
 Weight: 1.26 g.
 Foulsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 21 March 2009. Found by Andy Carter.
 (Norfolk HER 35718; EMC 2009.0161) A.B.M.
337. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class C, uncertain mint and moneyer
Obv. **+H[]N[]**
Rev. []**F:O[]**
 Weight: 1.36 g (cracked and chipped).
 East Bilney, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by Roy Davis.
 (EMC 2009.0276) M.R.A.
338. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class C3, Northampton, Walter
Obv. **+HENR[]REX[:]A**
Rev. []**WALTER[ON:N][]R**
 Weight: 1.29 g. Die axis 180°.
 Heacham, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by S. Hammond.
 From the same dies as *BMC* 633.
 (Norfolk HER 51073; EMC 2010.0005) A.B.M./M.R.A.
339. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class D3/C3, Newcastle, Willelm
Obv. **+HENR[I] REX A**
Rev. **+PILLAM[:ON:NE]**
 Weight: 0.53 g (cut halfpenny).
 Wixford, Warwickshire. M/d find, 2008. Found by Wayne Burton.
 From the same dies as *BMC* 595.
 (EMC 2009.0156) M.R.A.
340. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class E or F, Ipswich, Rodbert
Obv. []**ENR[]**
Rev. []**R[]N:GIP[]**
 Weight not recorded. Die axis 120°.
 Little Raveley, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 21 March 2009. Found by Wayne Davies.
 (EMC 2009.0053) M.R.A.
341. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class F, Canterbury, Raul
Obv. []**EX A**
Rev. []**L:ON:C\A[]**
 Weight: 1.30 g. Die axis 90°.
 Wonston, Hampshire. M/d find, 14 September 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
 (EMC 2009.0177) M.R.A.
342. Henry II (1154–1189), N 961 (Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby); class F, Ipswich, Turstain
Obv. **+HENRIC[]**
Rev. []**A[]GIP[]**
 Weight: 1.22 g.
 Buxhall, Suffolk. M/d find, August 2009.
 (EMC 2009.0404) M.W.
343. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class F, Ipswich, uncertain moneyer
Obv. []**ENRIC[]**

- Rev. []ON:GIP[]*
Weight: 1.14 g. Die axis 180°.
Uckington, Gloucestershire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Michael Blaser.
(EMC 2009.0369) M.R.A.
344. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class F, Winchester, Herbert P
Obv. []NRI REX S
Rev. H̄ERBERT:P:ON:W
Weight: 1.42 g. Die axis 330°.
Milton Keynes area. M/d find, 10 April 2009. Found by Wayne Burton.
A previously unrecorded moneyer and class of the *Cross-and-Crosslets* coinage for the Winchester mint.
(EMC 2009.0149) M.R.A.
345. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), uncertain class, Canterbury, Ricard
Obv. H̄ENRI[]
Rev. []A[]D:ON:CAN[]
Weight: 1.36 g. Die axis 180°.
Stoke Charity, Hampshire. M/d find, 4 August 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
(EMC 2009.0176) M.R.A.
346. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), uncertain class, Canterbury, Rogier
Obv. []hENR[]
Rev. []ROGIE[]
Weight: 1.06 g.
Wonston, Hampshire. M/d find, 7 March 2007. Found by Mark Duell.
(EMC 2009.0178) M.R.A.
347. Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), uncertain class (D-F?), London, Iohan
Obv. Illegible.
Rev. []JAN:ON:LV[]
Weight not recorded.
Weymouth, near, Dorset. M/d find, 22 September 2009.
(EMC 2009.0311) M.S.
348. Edward III (1327–77), Pre-Treaty A (1361), quarter noble, North 1224
Obv. +EDWAR:DEI:GRAC:REX:ANGL:ID
Rev. +EXALT:ABITVR:IN:GLORIA
Weight: 1.9 g.
West Wrating, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 9 May 2009. Found by Susan James.
M.R.A.
349. Isle of Man. Douglas, John Murray, penny token, 1668, as BW 1 but legends transposed
Watlington, near, Oxfordshire. M/d find, August 2009. Found by Roger Paul.
From the same dies as SCBI 49 (Norweb VI), no. 6365.
R.H.T.
- Continental*
350. Pepin the Short (751–68), denier, cf. MG 26
Obv. + / ΓPIP: / [axle]
Rev. R:P, bar or contraction above
Weight: 1.27 g.
- Sedgeford, Norfolk. Excavation find, July 2009. Found by the Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project.
(EMC 2009.0246) M.R.A.
351. Louis the Pious (814–40), gold solidus imitation, Frisian, Stewart A.124
Obv. DN LVDOVVICVS IMP AVG
Rev. MVNVS DIVINVM
Weight: 4.30 g. Die axis 180°.
Meldreth, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2009. Found by Roy Wood.
Same reverse die as MEC 1, 751; Grierson dies -/R4; SG analysis 17.8 = c.90% gold.
(EMC 2009.0339) M.R.A.
352. Louis the Pious (814–40), gold solidus imitation, Frisian or Anglo-Saxon?, Grierson Group III, cf. Prou 1075
Obv. DN LVVDOVS INII AVG
Rev. NIVINIVI OIVNVM
Weight: 4.42 g.
Salisbury, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, March 2009. Reported by William MacKay.
(EMC 2009.0157) M.R.A.
353. Otto I, II or III (962–1002), pfennig, cf. Dannenberg 643
Obv. []EN[]
Rev. Illegible.
Weight: 0.6 g (fragment).
Elkesley, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, by 2009. Found by Carey Fishlock.
A ‘Wendenpfennig’ or ‘Randpfennig’ after the model of the Ottonian pennies of Magdeburg, of c.1000, Dannenberg 643.
(PAS: LVPL-9C0AC1; EMC 2009.0134) F.Mc./M.R.A.
354. Otto III (983–1002), Otto-Adelheid pfennig, Hatz class IV
Obv. Illegible.
Rev. [ATEAHL]HT
Weight: 0.6 g (fragment).
Elkesley, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, by 2009. Found by Carey Fishlock.
(PAS LVPL-9BF941; EMC 2009.0133) F.Mc./M.R.A.
355. Abbey of Corvey, Hermann I of Holte (1223–54), pfennig
Obv. +SANCTVS VITVS, bust of St Vitus in quatrefoil
Rev. CVRBEIA CIVIT, voided long cross over quatrefoil
Weight: 1.1 g
Hook, Hampshire. M/d find, 2009. Found by Mr F.G. Ridoutt.
Donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum by the finder.
M.R.A.
356. Norway, Eric II (1280–99), billon *gros*
Obv. +ERIC:MI[]EX:NORVE (OR ligated)
Rev. []CÆ:lh'V:XPI
Weight: 0.85 g.
Heacham, Norfolk. M/d find, 2009. Found by S. J. Hammond.
(Norfolk HER 51073) A.B.M./M.R.A.

Corrections

A Henry I type 10 penny of York reported in Coin Register 2009 (no. 397) is a modern cast forgery. The location of the original coin is unknown at present.

Vincent West has pointed out that a Stephen type 2 penny of the Hastings moneyer Sæwine in Coin Register 2009, no. 416, is the same coin as Coin Register 2001, no. 96.

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

REVIEWS

Biographical dictionary of British and Irish numismatics, by Harrington E. Manville (London: Spink & Son, 2009), xii, 358 pp.

SOME researchers may give a greater welcome to Volume I of Manville's *Encyclopædia of British Numismatics* on auction catalogues (1986), to Volume II on periodicals (1993–7), or to Volume III on printed books (2005); but for this reviewer all have seemed a preparation for this wonderful Volume IV, on those who have collected, published, or engaged in British numismatics, or in coin and medal production, since about 1600. A prologue, indeed, extends back to the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, on the dating of which one might add C.E. Wright's chapter in *The English Library before 1700* (1958). Appendices list Keepers of the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals, and Deputy Masters of the Royal Mint since 1870.

One alights with joy on well-respected authors whose life history one hardly knew, such as Anthony Durand, *numismate anglais*, Kenneth Rogers MD, and W.H. Waddington, Prime Minister of France. Dr Michael Dolley receives the biography which so far he has not achieved in *ODNB*. It has been fascinating to find so many other people one remembers, such as Roy Hawkins, Kenneth Jacob, Horace King, C. Wilson Peck, and Wilfrid Slayter, though not the Belfast jeweller and coin dealer Leonard Kaitcer (k. 1980). The entry for Richard Arundell, Surveyor of the King's Roads (1731–37) before becoming Master of the Mint, might have mentioned the tickets which bear his initials (Davis & Waters 320/5). It can be added that before she joined Seaby's Monica Bussell worked on the *Cenypres Trading Register*; that the Ashmolean Museum's acquisition of a manuscript catalogue by Thomas Russell D.D. (the one in the Tyssen and Miles sales?) was reported by Ambrose Heal; that Dr T.D. Whittet (b.1915) died on 15 April 1987. Foreign scholars might not have been expected, yet here are Filippo Ferrari de la Renotière (who needs more research), Georg Galster, Andrzej Mikołajczyk, and many others. James Robertson, of the London and Constantinople mints, is better known as a photographer of Jerusalem and of the Indian Mutiny. The work is so up-to-date as to include Ernest Danson and Stella Greenall, who died in 2008, though not Aubrey Wilson's *The Search for Ernest Bramah*, published in 2007.

The problems of selection are admitted, yet the lack of a colonial expert on the panel of advisors surely led to the omission of Robert Chalmers (1858–1938), author of *A History of Currency in the British Colonies* (1893), but afterwards Baron Chalmers and FBA, with a distinguished career recounted in *ODNB*. However, the inclusion on the panel of Hugh Pagan has resulted in new observations on Ernest Ellman (b.1855), the forger Edward Emery, and James Henry [Dormer?], whom Roy Hawkins long sought in vain. Amid what

might seem a compilation from sources winnowed by Manville himself there are original contributions. This reviewer has learned that Thomas Snelling could be hoodwinked by John White, hatter and counterfeiter, and that Browne Willis was actively collecting tokens as early as 1723. William Rawle (d. 1790?) has a good claim to be the medallist 'G(uillaume?) Rawle', since Brown reports that the attribution comes from Durand. Perhaps the most striking suggestion is that the 'sliver of silver from Maine', the Norwegian fragment which so intrigued Peter Seaby (Kleeberg no.1), reached North America not in a Viking ship but in a sea-bird's gut.

One finds other curious nuggets of information, such as that Abraham van der Doort committed suicide on losing one of the King's miniatures; Dean Dawson had a living at Castlecomer but without any connection with the dollars countermarked for that colliery; the 'Dundee' collector was S.P. Fay; Edmund Halley was affected at the Chester mint by bad weather possibly caused by volcanoes in Iceland; a coiner was known as 'Castle' Jacobs for his operations (and death by fire) in Dudley Castle; and Stephen Martin Leake was the subject of an astonishing critique in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Few errors have been noticed. Philip Whitting has been misplaced under the spelling 'Whiting'. There seems to be no explanation here of the abbreviations *k.* = killed and NSL = Numismatic Society of London, although the latter was in earlier volumes. In 1795 Sir George Chetwynd (1783–1850) was not knighted, but the baronetcy was created for his father of the same name. More seriously, there is no access via text or index to Lord Aldenham (Gibbs) or to the Earl of Lauderdale (Maitland); whereas the Dowager Duchess of Portland, and two earls of Arundel, regrettably are entered both under peerage title, and under family name. Note that McClean, McCormick-Goodhart, and McCulloch follow the entry for Macro.

Beyond all the fascinating information this is a research tool which will save enormously on time in searching for periods of activity, contemporaries, likely influences, possible provenances, and reputations.

ROBERT THOMPSON

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Matthew Boulton: Selling what all the world desires, edited by Shena Mason (Birmingham City Council in association with Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009), xiv + 258 pp., col. ill., maps, plans, portraits.

Matthew Boulton and the Art of Making Money, edited by Richard Clay and Sue Tungate (Brewin Books, Studley, 2009), xiv + 89 pp., col. ill.

Matthew Boulton: A Revolutionary Player, edited by Malcolm Dick (Brewin Books, Studley, 2009), x + 230 pp., ill., col. plates.

Two thousand and nine, the two hundredth anniversary of his death (17 August 1809), was Matthew Boulton's year. Nationally commemorated on a First Class stamp, and now appearing on a £50 note with his partner James Watt, he was celebrated in Birmingham, the home town that he did so much to help transform into one of Britain's greatest manufacturing centres, by a series of events that included two major exhibitions at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG) and the Barber Institute of Fine Arts. The exhibitions were accompanied by splendid catalogues that were complemented by a third volume, each of which will stand in its own way as an invaluable survey of Boulton's achievements and legacy.

The first of the catalogues, for the Museum and Art Gallery exhibition, *Matthew Boulton: Selling what all the world desires*, is a sumptuous work which in its scholarship, presentation and the quality of its illustrations leaves little to be desired. Edited by Shena Mason, the introduction and the thirteen subsequent chapters of the first half of the book explore Boulton's often fraught rise from a small-scale toy maker to a manufacturer and entrepreneur of international renown and examine the remarkably wide-ranging interests of an Enlightenment man who so impressively combined an enthusiasm for science with an acute sense of design, a passion for technical innovation and never-ceasing business enterprise. His centrality to the activities of the Lunar Society, his lively engagement with a network of contemporary intellectuals and industrialists, his ventures into the manufacture of decorative silver ware, silver plate and ormolu, into steam power and coining are all discussed in a series of eminently readable essays by scholars, mostly established authorities in their subjects. Artists' impressions of the manufactory (a 'temple of useful & elegant Vulcanian arts' as James Keir described it¹) and a descriptive reconstruction of Soho in 1805 provide fascinating insights into the physical aspects of the complex that became one of the sights of the Midlands, attracting scores of eminent visitors who were allowed largely unfettered access until such freedom was curtailed because of a fear of industrial espionage. Numismatists will find two chapters of particular interest. Sue Tungate's overview of Boulton's sources of metal supply, the markets for his finished coin and aspects of his technical processes and design methods is an all too brief foretaste of a doctoral thesis that one awaits with anticipation; and David Symons's succinct yet all-embracing account of Soho's substantive coins,

tokens and medals with its first class images brings home the fact that despite the huge quantities minted Boulton's high standards of artistry and production were never compromised. Symons's admirable survey with its details of mintage figures is all the more useful from his being able to take account of David Vice's researches into the Soho archives that one hopes will be published by the Society as a Special Publication before too long.² The second half of the book is devoted to an extensive catalogue raisonné, scrupulously annotated and as beautifully illustrated as the earlier chapters; it is an exemplary record of a superb exhibition.

Sue Tungate is joint editor with Richard Clay of the celebratory volume published by the Barber Institute. *Matthew Boulton and the Art of Making Money*, although a relatively slim book, nevertheless encapsulates a wealth of material on Boulton's role as a coin manufacturer. After a brief scene-setting introduction by Sue Tungate, David Symons addresses the problem of forgery in the eighteenth century, tracing Boulton's endeavours to perfect equipment that would defeat the counterfeiter but ultimately and inevitably failing, even with his famous 'cartwheel' coinage, to overcome a practice as old as coinage itself. Peter Jones goes on to explore Boulton's excursion in the early 1790s into the manufacture of a token currency for revolutionary France in his scrabble to keep his coining presses at work as the prospect of a British regal coinage contract continued to elude him. Jones's analysis of the political and the technical problems Boulton faced in the mass-production of the hefty Monneron *médailles de confiance* makes the substance of his earlier study of the background to these pieces more accessible and is a useful adjunct to Richard Margolis's pioneering paper in *BNJ* 58.³ Finally, Richard Clay, in a chapter recalling his lecture to the Society in October 2008, argues the importance of Boulton's tokens – and those of other manufacturers – as aesthetic objects circulating among a mass audience and making 'art' accessible to all even if the imagery would not have been comprehensible to everyone. Clay's thesis is an attractive one, but while no one would dispute the artistry exhibited by many tokens or the admiration they evoked among contemporaries, it is perhaps over larding the cake to suggest that they projected Birmingham as 'the art capital of the world'. The book is again handsomely illustrated throughout and the catalogue contains a useful discussion of a number of the 'star objects' included in the Institute exhibition. It is unfortunate, though, that many of the images, which otherwise convey a vivid impression of the artistic and technical competence Boulton commanded at Soho, should be marred by digital distortion.

The third exploration of Boulton's life and work, *Matthew Boulton: A Revolutionary Player*, edited by Malcolm Dick, of necessity draws on the expertise of much the same group of scholars as the BMAG catalogue but the treatment of Boulton's interests and achievements differs sufficiently to make this a valuable complementary volume. Two chapters, once more contributed by David Symons and Sue Tungate, are particularly concerned with coinage. This time Symons concentrates on Boulton's trying relationship with a

¹ Keir 1947 [1809], 6.

² Vice forthcoming.

³ Jones 2004, 187–203; Margolis 1988, 102–9.

Royal Mint, which, while lacking his vigour and purpose, viewed his activities with suspicion and when success was assured did not scruple to try to undermine what they saw as an 'alienation of minting' to a private individual. Ultimately, Soho was contracted to supply steam-powered equipment to the new Mint on Tower Hill but, as Boulton had foreseen, it would be a pyrrhic victory because as the Mint became 'the most perfect establishment of its kind in the world'⁴ so Soho would never be involved in any future regal coinage. In her paper Sue Tungate returns to her consideration of Boulton's minting techniques, his search for able engravers, choice of design and the complexities of providing coinages across the globe.

Although in the nature of things there is a degree of overlap between the three books, each elaborates different facets of Boulton's complex character, interests and achievements. Taken together they provide an absorbing portrait of a *savant-fabricant* who was one of the leading entrepreneurs of the Industrial Revolution. But, as several of the authors stress, he was an entrepreneur with an Achilles heel: his ostentatious manufactory was a never-ending drain on his finances and few of his enterprises proved successful in the long term. As Keir put it several of his ventures 'on which so much ingenuity, taste & capital' were expended 'did not make suitable returns of profit, but were rather rewarded with the fragrant odours of Praise & admiration, than with more solid advantage'.⁵ Apart from the steam-engine business only Boulton's coining initiative achieved a significant profit and this was not until the end of the century.

Nevertheless, for all Boulton's grass-hopping enthusiasms, his failures and his financial naivety, his position at the cutting edge of Britain's early Industrial Revolution was a dominant one and no one better deserves the fulsome tribute offered by the estimable trio of books under review. Nothing would have been possible, of course, without extensive recourse to the vast Soho archive at the Birmingham Central Library. This other great legacy of Boulton's underpins all the studies, and the detailed description and exemplification of the archive that Fiona Tait, who has been so involved in its recataloguing, provides in the first and third volumes is very welcome. The numismatist could only wish that a fragment of such an archive existed to bring out of the shadows other Birmingham figures such as John Westwood, Peter Kempson and William Lutwyche.

D.W. DYKES

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⁴ Ackermann 1809, II, 205.

⁵ Keir 1947 [1809], 6.

- Keir, J., 1947 [1809]. *Memoir of Matthew Boulton* (Birmingham).
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 Vice, D., forthcoming. *A Numismatic History of Soho Manufactory & Mint 1772–1850*.

Medals of Dishonour, by Philip Attwood and Felicity Powell, with a contribution by Rod Mengham (The British Museum Press, London, 2009) 136 pp., colour plates, bibliography, index.

DURING the summer of 2009, as a result of the collaboration between Philip Attwood, curator of medals, and Felicity Powell, a practising artist and teacher, the British Museum exhibited just thirty-six medals in their prints and drawing gallery: twenty-three historical medals and thirteen new commissions.¹ The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue were supported by Chora, an arts organisation based in Los Angeles, California,² and the British Art Medal Trust. The small size of these medals, normally awarded for honour and good deeds, belies their power to satirise and condemn what is perceived as unjust and evil. The title of the exhibition and associated catalogue was suggested by the American sculptor David Smith's *Medals for Dishonour*.³ During Smith's extended tour of Europe in 1933–36 he saw satirical German medals of World War I during a visit to the British Museum and was inspired to produce a series of large bronze anti-war, anti-capitalist medallions, two of which were loaned for this exhibition and are included in the catalogue.⁴

Two extended essays accompany the catalogue of exhibits. The first by British Museum curator Philip Attwood (now Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum) introduces the historical satirical medal with which numismatists are familiar, spanning the period from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. The second essay on contemporary medals, written by Rod Mengham (a poet, Reader in Modern English Literature and curator of works of art at Jesus College, Cambridge), provides the background to this '*microcosm of the world of art*' (p. 37) as expounded for the exhibition by artists as diverse in technique and outlook as Steve Bell, Jake and Dinos Chapman, Ellen Gallagher, Richard Hamilton, Mona Hatoum, Yun-Fei Ji, Ilya and Emilia Kabakov, William Kentridge, Michael Landy, Langlands and Bell, Cornelia Parker, Grayson Perry and Felicity Powell.

The Renaissance medal primarily conferred honour and dignity to the giver and the recipient. However, the first medal in Attwood's essay commemorates the

¹ *Medals of Dishonour*, exhibition held 25 June–27 September 2009, at the British Museum.

² According to its website Chora 'aims to support the intangibles which precede creativity' (<http://chora.info>). The sponsor's foreword, p. 7, is written by artist Lauren Bon.

³ A slight change in the wording provides a thoroughly British acronym, MoD.

⁴ No. 21, 'Private Law and Order Leagues', and no. 22, 'Co-operation of the Clergy', both 1939, pp. 80–83.

failure of the Pazzi family's conspiracy in 1478 to oust the Medici family from power.⁵ With the Reformation, anti-clerical and anti-papist medals appeared, and from that time forward the flood of medals continued for centuries, attacking hypocrisy, greed, cowardice and vainglory. Satire comes from every quarter, left and right, Royalist and Republican. The selection of medals for the exhibition was undoubtedly a trial as many of those mentioned in Attwood's catalogue essay never made it into the final twenty-three.⁶ Attwood gives a scholarly narrative thread to the choice of historical medals in the exhibition while broadening the scope of the enterprise. He sends the reader scurrying for Horace and Cicero. He makes links to lampoons and satires in different media: etchings, literary works, handbills and music. The interplay between graphic artists and the form of the medal, prominent in the eighteenth century, is illustrated by James Sayers' cartoon "A Coalition Medal Struck in Brass". This uses the medalllic format of conjoined busts normally associated with royalty or Imperial Rome for two former adversaries, the Whig politician Charles Fox, and Lord North, the Tory Prime Minister, who formed a coalition government in 1783.⁷ A note is added by Sayers, 'The Reverse may be expected in a few days.' And surely enough, the coalition fell apart within months. Most books on medals are catalogues without narrative; for the historical medals the reverse is true here: this essay provides a narrative for catalogue listings elsewhere. The bibliography at the end of the volume and the notes accompanying the essay direct the reader to the main reference works and less frequented numismatic listings.

Attwood mentions the '*element of obscurity*' (p. 21) introduced by David Smith which sets the contemporary medals apart from their more easily accessible predecessors. In this way they have more in common with the obscurantist reverses of Renaissance medals. Attwood invites the viewer to decide how to respond to these medals. Mengham's essay is an example of what that response might be. He provides an insight from the non-numismatic world, attracted by the Janus-like reversibility of the form. Conversant with the artists' work in other media, as filmmakers, painters, cartoonists, sculptors and installation artists, he provides thoughtful analysis of the contemporary medals in a broader fine arts context. He is struck by the creativity unleashed by the traditional limitations of the form of the medal:

There can be no other medium in which the limitations placed on size, shape, volume and colour have been so consistent throughout the history of its use. It is the great paradox of the discipline imposed by those limitations that it should have liberated so many artists of radically different traditions, practices and outlooks to be so outspoken in their engagement with issues of general public concern

and with a sense of historical urgency, and all within the compass of something that can be held in the palm of the hand. (p. 37.)

The design of the book echoes the layout of the museum exhibition,⁸ devoting a full colour plate to a detail of the medal while the opposite page shows the medal actual size with explanatory text and historical background. The first twenty-three historical medals in the exhibition are shown in chronological order, spanning some 400 years of satire, beginning with Gerard van Blijera's silver medal for the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Some medals are familiar, such as Christian Wermuth's scatological medal 'Discontent with the Peace of Utrecht', and Jan Smeltzing's 'Good Fortune of William III', his luck contrasting with Monmouth's defeat. Many of the medals, such as those for the Peterloo Massacre and the Covent Garden Theatre Old Price Riots, are by unidentified artists. But there are some familiar names to numismatists such as Hancock, Spence and Halliday. Also included are those German medals of World War I by twentieth-century medallists Goetz, Zadikow, Essoe and Gies that inspired David Smith in the thirties.

These last medals in the historical section provide a link to the aesthetic aspect of medals as art and, in the case of Duchamp, a comment on the art world and its uneasy relationship with the consumer collector: Marcel Duchamp's 'Sink Stopper' of 1967 is not so much a readymade as his notorious 'Fountain' (or urinal to the uninitiated), for the lead bath plug at least was cast in silver for a special collectors' edition.

The second part of the catalogue consists of the thirteen contemporary medals, which are given in alphabetical order by artist. These new medals were commissioned by the British Art Medal Trust and produced with its support.⁹ Apart from Felicity Powell, most contributors were complete novices to the art of the medal, so they bring freshness of approach to the form, exploiting its dual aspect and capacity for telling detail while maintaining a stance as damning, subversive and shocking as any of their historical precursors. These twenty-first century medals reference the artist's work in other media more familiar to the general public, such as installations, prints, preparatory designs and models. For example, cartoonist Steve Bell's CDM (pp. 86–7) mimics the form of traditional military medals but the acronym translates as the 'Collateral Damage Medal' with the legend 'Suffer Little Children' next to the picture of a wounded Iraqi child, an image considered too horrific to be printed in *The Independent* newspaper when first photographed. War is an obvious target but other present-day issues were chosen independently by artists: racism, environmental concerns, consumerism, political mendacity, anti-social behaviour.

⁵ Fig. 1, Bertoldo di Giovanni, 'Lorenzo and Giuliano de Medici and the Pazzi Conspiracy', 1478, cast bronze, 66 mm, p. 14.

⁶ See also Attwood 2009.

⁷ Etching 251×186 mm, p. 21.

⁸ Unlike traditional medal exhibitions each medal, no matter how small, was given a vitrine to itself. However, this meant that it was not always easy to actually see the medals, and the catalogue was of great benefit, enlarging the image.

⁹ The British Art Medal Trust, a registered charity dedicated to the promotion, study and creation of art medals, presented an example of each of the newly commissioned medals to the British Museum for its permanent collection.

The last medal in the exhibition and in the catalogue is no. 36, 'Hot Air' by Felicity Powell (pp. 126–9). The designs for the medal and the original concepts were modelled in white wax on a dark ground.¹⁰ The medal imitates the familiar retractable tape measure but the numbers have been replaced by texts. A quotation by Vladimir Putin in 2003 lightly dismisses global warming: 'maybe it will be good: we'll spend less on fur coats'. The second equally unmeasured comment is from the CEO of ExxonMobil: 'In Europe you like to tell people what kind of cars they ought to use. Most Americans like to make that decision for themselves – that's why we left Europe'. Just like the traditional satirical medal she uses scatology to lambast the stinking hot air of politics and business when faced with the threat of global warming and carbon emissions.

This slim and thought-provoking volume invites us to examine the dark side of the medal and review present newly-created works in the light of the past reverses. While information on the historical medals may be found dryly elsewhere in numismatic catalogues, *Medals of Dishonour* will encourage further reading and appreciation of the subject. Paradoxically, for the new medals, this catalogue is both a primary source and critique, reflecting the inherent dualism, positive and negative, of the form.

FRANCES SIMMONS

REFERENCE

- Attwood, P., 2009. ‘“Honi soit qui bon y pense”: medals as vehicles of antipathy’. *The Medal* 54, 4–34.

¹⁰ Powell much admired the 124 wax medals on slate made by the Hamerani family in Rome between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, now in the British Museum collection, and has produced other works inspired by this working method, e.g. an animation *Anima* (2005).

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF THE YEAR 2009

R.J. EAGLEN

ASSUMING the Presidency of our Society at the beginning of this year was a daunting challenge: not because of any defects in the foundations or fabric of the Society but precisely because the edifice was in such good order. The challenge is to keep it so, and especially to minimise any storm damage from the global financial crisis from which no-one, our Society included, can expect entirely to escape.

During Dr Mark Blackburn's term as President the Society's membership exceeded 650 for the first time and at the end of 2008, as you will see from the latest accounts (see pp. 251–6 below), the net worth of the Society stood at its highest ever, approaching £177,000. With the help of Kevin Clancy, our Director, our Editors and an impressive throng of contributors, the Society's meetings and the *Journal* maintained their high level of numismatic scholarship, the latter putting on a little weight without any loss of fitness. There was also an addition to the list of Special Publications, in the form of my study of the Bury mint.¹ Also during Dr Blackburn's tenure, the arrangements for awarding the Society's medals and prizes were reviewed and thanks to a most generous donation from Jeffrey North, a Book Prize and Medal for Services to British Numismatics instituted. Changes were also made to enable rotation of Vice-Presidents who, under the Bye-Laws, are limited to six eminent members of the Society. Under these arrangements Dr Christopher Challis, who has for many years served the Society with great distinction as Editor, President and latterly a Vice-President, is standing down tonight; he will be replaced by Dr Stewart Lyon, who returns to Council. The Bye-Laws themselves were also amended to introduce greater transparency and democracy in electing Officers and Council.

Against this backdrop I set out my priorities as President in my first *Newsletter* in the following terms:

1. to uphold the scholarly standing of the Society
2. to keep the Society in rude financial health
3. to enhance the public image of the Society, thereby stimulating both membership and, more generally, the pursuit of British numismatics.

Shortly afterwards the first storm struck from an unexpected quarter. When the *Journal* (BNJ 78, 2008) was at the printing stage Cromwell Press went into administration. Almost immediately Cambridge University Press, whom we also used as trusted printers, announced that they would henceforward only handle their own publications. Fortunately, however, a slimmed down Cromwell Press arose from the ashes and was able to fulfil the contract, but the *Journal* was not despatched until March. For some overseas members, receiving their copies by surface transport, the delay was even longer. The Society is sorry for this inconvenience and aims to despatch the forthcoming *Journal* (BNJ 79, 2009) by January 2010. It will be dedicated to ex-President and Vice-President Peter Woodhead who celebrated his eightieth birthday this year.

The more ominous storm threatening us at the beginning of the year has, so far, not been as ferocious or damaging as initially feared. I refer, of course, to the global financial crisis or credit crunch. Its impact was expected to bear most markedly on membership levels, but these have so far held up well, now standing at 638, fifteen less than in November 2008. Council

¹ R.J. Eaglen, *The Abbey and Mint of Bury St Edmunds to 1279*. BNS Special Publication 5 (London, 2006).

accordingly considered that the membership fees should be unchanged for 2010, and you have welcomed this proposal tonight.

Council also expected that interest rates would be reduced to stimulate an economic recovery. However, the extent of the bank base rate reduction down to a steady 0.5% is having a greater impact than foreseen on interest earned from our funds on deposit. Whereas private individuals are able to deposit their savings for, say, six or twelve months at up to 4%, most financial institutions in the UK have turned their backs on charities, offering rates as low as 0.1%. Higher, but still miserly rates may be available to existing customers or charities willing to use the institution concerned as their bankers. These handicaps, allied to our desire to protect our funds from future banking failures by spreading the risk, present a continuing challenge to the Society's Treasurer and Finance Committee.

The adverse effect of reduced investment income is being mitigated by a number of initiatives. To promote the benefits of Society membership, attractive recruitment leaflets have been produced and eye-catching display material prepared for use at conferences and fairs, such as Coinex, and our Publicity Officer has cultivated closer links with the numismatic press. The Editors of the *Journal* have also helped by increasing the advertising placed in the *Journal*, which had inexorably declined in recent years.

I have already encouraged UK members who have not made a gift aid declaration to do so because it represents a significant benefit to the Society (currently 22% of the membership fees, back datable by up to six years) and also provides a personal tax benefit of 18% for top rate tax payers. The response to my *Newsletter* appeal has been positive but there are certainly more members who could help the Society, and possibly themselves, in this way. I therefore make no apologies for continuing to encourage those of you who have not yet made declarations to do so, either through the Society's website or by contacting our Treasurer.

An area where the Society can make significant savings is in communicating with members by e-mail instead of using hard copies for the *Newsletter* and eventually other communications such as nominations for Officers and Council. The response here has so far been modest but the benefits from avoiding the unnecessarily expensive and often inefficient postal service are self-evident, especially for overseas correspondence. The Society will, I trust, for many years to come be happy to communicate by post with members so wishing but hopefully the majority will agree to receive e-mails as the internet becomes increasingly accepted as an everyday means of communication.

I would not wish, in spite of all I have said, to create the impression that the Society's fortunes are ailing. On the contrary we should be more than able to absorb any temporary set-backs caused by recent circumstances beyond our control.

On a broader optimistic note, the interest in studying history, especially at university level, has seen a remarkable resurgence after many years of decline. Undoubtedly television is partly responsible for this trend. Distinguished academic historians have even become television celebrities, somewhat raising the species from its painful obscurity. The burgeoning skills of museums in presenting their treasures have also made a contribution. I am sure that the Society can benefit from this renaissance and embrace it as an opportunity in the coming years to advance numismatics at a national and local level, supported by educational initiatives.

The lecture programme for 2009 was as interesting and varied as usual. In April, owing to the indisposition of Graham Dyer, his paper was deferred and Dr Kevin Clancy, James Morton and Dr Catherine Eagleton stepped in with very little notice to present excellent short papers. In September Dr Jim Bolton gave a very topical Linecar Lecture on 'How to survive monetary deflation, credit crunches and a great slump, some lessons from the Middle Ages'. The value of close collaboration between historians and numismatists is well-recognised for the Anglo-Saxon period but the lecture and discussion that followed illustrated the considerable scope that also exists for the medieval period. The Summer Meeting, held jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society, was devoted to the life and work of Matthew Boulton, to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of his death. The chosen venue was Birmingham, the setting for his great achievements. Next year's Summer Meeting will be held in Norwich, on Saturday, 3 July 2010, under the intriguing title 'Saving Money – Currencies and Creeds'.

The latest sexennial meeting of the International Numismatic Congress was held between 31 August and 3 September in Glasgow. The Society awarded two bursaries of £400 to students attending the Congress and again joined with the Royal Numismatic Society to host a reception for over 600 delegates. Members of the Society were also conspicuous as speakers and chairmen of sessions.

As usual it is the President's sombre duty to record the loss of members through death. In 2008 Raymond Stuart HILTON (aged 60) and Francis Edward JENNINGS (aged 78) passed away, and in this year Neville John EBSWORTH (aged 87), Charles MACKECHNIE-JARVIS (at the great age of 101), Peter Bagwell PUREFOY (aged 76), Trevor Spencer WHERRETT (at the early age of 58) and Derek Pinnock WHITE (aged 78). On a happier note Dr Mark Walport was created Knight Bachelor for services to medical research and in April the Society elected Harrington E. Manville to honorary membership in recognition of his invaluable *Encyclopaedia of British Numismatics* series.

In conclusion I would like to thank the Officers and members of Council for their dedicated support in running the Society. Those who are not directly involved may not be fully aware of their unstinting contribution. In the course of the year the Membership Secretary, Roland Hewson and Council member, David Darrington, tendered their resignations for personal reasons, which I accepted with regret. Philip Skingley then kindly offered to assume the role of Membership Secretary and Megan Gooch agreed to serve on Council. Under the Bye-Laws Dr Roger Bland and Robert Thompson have reached the end of their term on Council, but I hope we may benefit from their knowledge and experience again at a later date. Dr Barrie Cook will be joining Council in their stead. Our Secretary, Richard Kelleher is also standing down because of increased personal commitments and I would like to thank him for his loyal support in the first year of my Presidency. He will be succeeded by Peter Preston-Morley. Finally, Tony Merson has kindly agreed to continue as Independent Examiner for this year's accounts.

The President then delivered the second part of his address, 'The illustration of coins: an historical survey. Part I', printed at pages 140–50 above.

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 2009

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903–08	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1909	W.J. Andrew, FSA
1910–14	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1915–19	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1920–21	F.A. Walters, FSA
1922 (until 22 June)	J. Sanford Saltus
1922 (from 28 June)	G.R. Francis, FSA
1923–25	G.R. Francis, FSA
1926–27	Major W.J. Freer, VD, DL, FSA
1928 (until 20 February)	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1928 (from 22 February)	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1929–32	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1933–37	V.B. Crowther-Beynon, MBE, MA, FSA
1938–45	H.W. Taffs, MBE
1946–50	C.E. Blunt, OBE, FSA
1951–54	E.J. Winstanley, LDS
1955–58	H.H. King, MA
1959–63	D.F. Allen, BA, FBA, FSA
1964–65	C.W. Peck, FPS, FSA
1966–70	C.S.S. Lyon, MA, FIA
1971–75	S.E. Rigold, MA, FSA
1976–80	P. Woodhead, FSA
1981–83	J.D. Brand, MA, FCA
1984–88	H.E. Pagan, MA, FSA
1989–93	C.E. Challis, BA, PhD, FSA, FRHistS
1994–98	G.P. Dyer, BSc(Econ), DGA
1999–2003	D.W. Dykes, MA, PhD, FSA, FRHistS
2004–08	M.A.S. Blackburn, PhD, FSA
2008–	R.J. Eaglen, MA, LLM, PhD, FSA

JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded triennially to 'the person, being a member of the Society or not, who shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as having in their opinion made the scholarly contribution to British numismatics most deserving of public recognition, as evidenced by published work or works, whether in the *British Numismatic Journal* or elsewhere', by ballot of all the members.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officer de la Légion d'Honneur, a President of the Society, by gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists:

1910	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton	1938	W.C. Wells
1911	Helen Farquhar	1941	C.A. Whitton
1914	W.J. Andrew	1944	(not awarded)
1917	L.A. Lawrence	1947	R.C. Lockett
1920	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson	1950	C.E. Blunt
1923	H.A. Parsons	1953	D.F. Allen
1926	G.R. Francis	1956	F. Elmore Jones
1929	J.S. Shirley-Fox	1959	R.H.M. Dolley
1932	C. Winter	1962	H.H. King
1935	R. Carlyon-Britton	1965	H. Schneider
		1968	E.J. Winstanley
		1971	C.W. Peck (posthumous award)
		1971	B.H.I.H. Stewart (later Lord Stewartby)
		1974	C.S.S. Lyon
		1978	S.E. Rigold
		1981	Marion M. Archibald
		1984	D.M. Metcalf
		1987	Joan E.L. Murray
		1990	H.E. Pagan
		1993	C.E. Challis
		1996	J.J. North
		1997	P. Grierson (special award)
		1999	R.H. Thompson
		2002	E.M. Besly
		2005	P. Woodhead
		2008	M.A.S. Blackburn

BLUNT PRIZE

This prize was instituted in 1986 as the Council Prize but its name was changed in 2005 to mark the outstanding contribution to the Society and to British Numismatics made by Christopher Evelyn Blunt (1904–87). The prize takes the form of a triennial cash award to an individual, whether a member of the Society or not, who has made a recent significant contribution to the study of numismatics which falls within the Society's remit. Its purpose is principally to encourage younger scholars, and therefore preference is given to suitable candidates under 35 years of age.

Recipients:

1987	M.A.S. Blackburn
1990	E.M. Besly
1993	B.J. Cook
1996	M.R. Allen
1999	P. de Jersey
2002	K. Clancy
2005	S. Bhandare
2008	T. Crafter

NORTH BOOK PRIZE

The North Book Prize, established in 2006 with a generous donation by Jeffrey North, is awarded every two years for the best book on British Numismatics.

Books eligible for consideration for the prize are those published during the current or three preceding calendar years, copies of which have been received by the joint library of the British Numismatic Society and the Royal Numismatic Society for review.

Recipients:

2006	M.R. Allen for <i>The Durham Mint</i> (London, 2003)
2008	R.J. Eaglen for <i>The Abbey and Mint of Bury St Edmunds to 1279</i> (London, 2006)

JEFFREY NORTH MEDAL FOR SERVICES TO NUMISMATICS

The Jeffrey North Medal for exceptional services to British Numismatics was established with a generous gift from Jeffrey North in 2008. It is awarded by Council 'to members of the Society or others in recognition of outstanding services to British numismatics, whether in the UK or overseas'.

Recipients:

2008	J. Bispham
2008	M. Bonser
2008	C.R.S. Farthing
2008	A.J. Holmes
2010	K. Sugden
2010	P. and Bente R. Withers

PROCEEDINGS 2009

All meetings during the year were held at the Warburg Institute and the President, Dr R.J. Eaglen, was in the chair throughout, except for 24 March, which was chaired by Hugh Pagan (Vice-President).

(For Officers and Council for 2009, see Volume 79)

27 JANUARY 2009. Messrs Edward Fletcher, George Lionel William Molyneaux, Graham Birnie Soeder and Mark Frederick Winiger were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Council noted the deaths of F.E. Jennings and D.P. White with sadness. Dr Martin Allen then read a paper entitled *The English coinage in the 1120s and 1150s: interrupted continuity?*

24 FEBRUARY 2009. Messrs Andrew Brannon, Barrington Richard Eastick, Edmund Goldshinsky, Michael Lee Smith and Alastair Thomas James Wardle were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The President announced that Council had nominated for Honorary Membership Harrington (Harry) E. Manville, Megan Gooch had been co-opted as a member of Council. The President announced with sadness the death of Raymond Stewart Hilton, a member of the society since 2006, on 21 November 2008. Council had agreed that volume 79 of the *British Numismatic Journal*, for 2009, should be dedicated to Peter Woodhead, in honour of his eightieth birthday. The President further announced a change to the planned programme for the April meeting. Graham Dyer was awaiting an operation and regrettably could not give his paper on this occasion. There would be an evening of two or three short presentations on modern topics instead. Philip de Jersey then read a paper entitled *Sir John Evans and the coins of the Ancient Britons*.

24 MARCH 2009. Hugh Pagan, Vice-President, was in the chair. Professor Robert Schichler was elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Council noted the death of P. Bagwell Purefoy on 7 February 2009 with sadness. Rory Naismith then read a paper entitled *Kings, mints and currency in southern England c.750–c.865*.

28 APRIL 2009. Messrs Nedelcho Ivanov Nedelchev and Andrew Richard Woods were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Council noted the death of Charles MacKechnie-Jarvis on 22 March 2009 with sadness. The President announced that Roland Hewson had resigned as Membership Secretary for personal reasons and that Philip Skingley had been appointed by Council in his place. The President further announced that the programme for the Summer Meeting had been finalised and would be advertised in the numismatic press as well as letters sent to attendees from the past 8 years. Harrington E. Manville was elected to honorary membership of the Society. Three short papers were then read by Dr Kevin Clancy, *The Ricardo Ingot: the discovery of a striking in tin*; James Morton, *The Watt collection of Soho Mint coins and medals*; and Dr Catherine Eagleton, *'Herculean labours' of M. Borrel: the 1908 decimal currency for Zanzibar*.

26 MAY 2009. Dr Oliver Volckart was elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The President presented Dr Mark Blackburn with the John Sanford Saltus Medal for 2008. Stuart Devlin then read a paper entitled *Coins and Creativity*. The meeting was followed by the Spring Reception for members and their guests, sponsored by Messrs Baldwins.

24 JUNE 2009. Dr Craig Paterson (USA), and Messrs Mark Anthony Crisp and John Gordon Cross were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Professor Forrest Capie then read a paper entitled *Money and Economic Development in the Eighteenth Century*.

22 SEPTEMBER 2009. Peter Lloyd-Jones (Evesham Coin Co.) and David McBean were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Professor Jim Bolton then read the 2009 Linecar Lecture, entitled *How to survive monetary deflation, credit crunches and a great slump: some lessons from the later Middle Ages*.

27 OCTOBER 2009. Mr Philip Timmins was elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Council noted the death of Trevor Wherrett on 14 September 2009 with sadness. Richard Kelleher and Dr Gareth Williams then read a paper entitled *The Tutbury hoard of 1831*.

24 NOVEMBER 2009. Messrs Marian Mihnea Ciprian, Graeme Matthew James Restorick and Dr Gregory Charles Stevens were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The following Officers and Council were declared elected for 2010.

President:	R.J. Eaglen
Vice-Presidents:	G.P. Dyer, D.W. Dykes, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, and Lord Stewartby
Director:	K. Clancy
Treasurer:	P.H. Mernick
Librarian:	J.E. Roberts-Lewis
Secretary:	P.J. Preston-Morley
Membership Secretary:	P. Skingley
Council:	M.R. Allen, N.L. Biggs, B.J. Cook, Emily Freeman, Megan Gooch, P. de Jersey (Editor), N.M. McQ. Holmes, A.W. Lyons, W.A. MacKay (Publicity Officer), R.G.R. Naismith (Website Officer), and Elina M. Screen (Editor)

Council's proposal that the subscription should remain unchanged at £32 for Ordinary Members and £15 for members under the age of 21 or in full-time education was approved. The President delivered the annual address, the first part being a Review of the Society's activities in 2009, followed by the first of two Presidential Addresses on coin illustration: *The illustration of coins: an historical survey*. On completion and on behalf of the membership, Hugh Pagan thanked the President for his contribution to the Society in the first year of his Presidency, especially his approach to the finances of the Society in relation to the global financial situation. The President invited members and their guests to attend a reception in the common room generously sponsored by Peter Woodhead.

EXHIBITION

October

By Richard Kelleher and Dr Gareth Williams

A parcel of six coins from the Tutbury hoard kindly lent for the purpose by Messrs Christopher Wren and Darren Bishop.

Six Edwardian sterling pennies from the Tutbury hoard: Berwick class 3; Bury St Edmunds 11a, 11b; Kingston upon Hull 9b1; Newcastle 9b1, 9b2.

SUMMER MEETING

The Summer Meeting of the Society, *The Life and Work of Matthew Boulton*, was held jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, on Saturday 11 July 2009. The meeting was opened by the President and closed by Mr Joe Cribb, President of the Royal Numismatic Society. During the morning session, papers were read by Shena Mason, *A new species of gentleman*; George Demidowicz, *The layout and development of the Soho Mint: documentary research and excavations* and Dr Dick Doty, *Russians, revolutionaries, and the Raj: Soho goes global*. In the afternoon, papers were read by Fiona Tait, *Improving the coinage: the records of the Soho Mint, 1791–1850*; Sue Tungate, *The Soho Mint: from copper to customer* and Professor Peter Jones, *Matthew Boulton: Man of the Enlightenment*.

PRESENTATION OF THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL FOR 2008 TO MARK BLACKBURN

In making the presentation, the President said:

AT the last Anniversary Meeting in November 2008 Stewart Lyon spoke eloquently in praise of Mark Blackburn's Presidency of the Society. The occasion was the conclusion of five years in that office during which Mark introduced various changes from which the Society will continue to benefit for many years to come. One change advocated by Mark was to broaden the scope of the Sanford Saltus Medal to recognise scholarly contributions to British numismatics at large as well as to the Society's publications. The first recipient under the new rule was Peter Woodhead, enabling us to recognise his august work on the Schneider collection of gold coins.

When Council prepared its nominations for the present award, only with the greatest reluctance was Mark persuaded by Council to allow his name to be put forward. From three distinguished nominees you have chosen him as a most deserving recipient.

Mark turned to professional numismatics in 1982 when, happily for our world, he forsook a career in the City to join the Fitzwilliam Museum as a Research Associate and as a keen disciple of Philip Grierson. He had already come to academic notice with his papers on the mint of Watchet published in the *Journal* in the mid 1970s.¹ This was an early signal of his subsequent interests stretching from fifth- to twelfth-century coinages. Most recently his five Presidential addresses to the Society on the currency of the Vikings issued in the British Isles constitute a major and lasting contribution to that series.

I have personal reasons for being grateful to Mark. When studying the coins of Bury St Edmunds minted during the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, his papers on those reigns were invaluable. I was constantly struck by the knowledge, precision, succinctness and impeccable judgement radiating from every page he wrote. It is a hallmark of all his work and Mark has made an indelible impression on British numismatics, as President of our Society, Keeper of Coins at the Fitzwilliam Museum and as a scholarly writer. All this activity has recently been characterfully pursued whilst prevailing over health problems and personal sorrow. The demands upon Mark's time are understandably legion, but his award is not, as the film industry might say 'for lifetime achievement'. The numismatic world looks forward to many more enlightened words from his gifted pen.

Mark, on behalf of the British Numismatic Society, I am delighted to present you with the 2008 Sanford Saltus Medal.

In reply Dr Blackburn said:

PRESIDENT, Members and friends, I am very honoured to receive this magnificent medal. And thank you, Robin, for your very generous words.

I count myself as extremely fortunate to have been able to form a career out of what has, since the age of fourteen, been an enduring passion for me. And the British Numismatic Society played a very direct role bringing that about. When I was eighteen I joined the Society at the suggestion of a local archaeologist in Kent, very appropriately called James Money, and when I received my first volume of *BNJ* I read Stewart Lyon's 1970 Presidential Address in which he commented on the shortage of research workers in British numismatics: 'much detailed work remains to be done throughout the series', he said. 'Even in the Anglo-Saxon period, where intensive research has been carried out in recent years, we have only begun to scratch the surface of some of the numismatic problems which this research has uncovered' (*BNJ* 39 (1970), p. 209). I sent Stewart a letter saying that I had never done any numismatic research and I knew nothing about Anglo-Saxon coinage, but I was willing to learn and help.

¹ M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The mint of Watchet', *BNJ* 44 (1974), 13–38; *BNJ* 46 (1976), 494–8.

He put me in touch with Michael Dolley, and it all started from there. I am not going to recount the events that led me from being a keen amateur to becoming a Keeper in the Fitzwilliam Museum, or to spell out the enormous debt of gratitude that I owe to Michael and Stewart, and many others including Michael Metcalf, Christopher Blunt and in particular Philip Grierson. I described that in December when our sister society, the RNS, very kindly gave me their medal. But I do want to say what an important role the BNS has played for me and others – whether directly as an institution or as a focus for a group of stimulated individuals. The exceptional thing about the discipline of numismatics – and in particular numismatics in Britain – is the contribution that serious amateurs can make to research.

This Society not only provides a forum for disseminating research through its publications and lecture series, but crucially it provides a means of attracting novices and putting them in touch with more experienced numismatists who can encourage and informally train them to meet the rigorous academic standards that are necessary for research to be worthwhile. As a Society we do not tend to plan this consciously, but it is happening all the time, perhaps as much when we are socialising after meetings, as when we are asking questions of a lecturer. The fact that Members are so friendly counts for a lot.

I am very grateful to have made that passage from being a novice to a Sanford Saltus Medallist, and I thank all those in the Society who have in various ways helped me achieve that. It would be nice to think that getting this medal was a sign that you had done your bit, and that it might now be time to sit back and relax. Alas, precedent suggests that is not the case. Lord Stewartby received the medal 39 years ago and is still as active as ever, and the same applies to Stewart Lyon, Marion Archibald and Michael Metcalf, all of whom have had the medal for more than 25 years. So alas, I still have a long way to go to match them!

This Medal is the premier award in British numismatics, and I regret that under the current rules it is awarded by a competitive vote, for my two co-nominees are both highly distinguished and deserving numismatists. None the less you had to decide and I am truly honoured that you should have awarded it to me. Thank you all very much indeed!

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2008

THE British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The Society is established for the benefit of the public through the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, and particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be, or have been, subject to their jurisdiction.

The Society's activities are governed by its By-Laws. The By-Laws were amended in November 2002 and following a review of the Society's governance further changes were made in January 2008. The revised By-Laws were reprinted in this year's volume of *The British Numismatic Journal*.

The trustees of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2008 were the officers and members of Council comprising:

R.J. Eaglen (Council) (President from November 2008), M.A.S. Blackburn (to November 2008) (President); C.E. Challis, G.P. Dyer, D.W. Dykes (from November 2008), C.S.S. Lyon (to November 2008), P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby (Vice-Presidents); K. Clancy (Director); P.H. Mernick (Treasurer); J.E. Roberts-Lewis (Librarian); R.L.N. Hewson (Membership Secretary); R.M. Kelleher (Secretary); R.G.R. Naismith (Website Officer); P. de Jersey, E.M. Screen (Editors); W.A. Mackay (Publicity Officer); M.R. Allen (from November 2008), N.L. Biggs (from November 2008), R.F. Bland, D.E. Darrington (from November 2008), E.F.V. Freeman, N.M. McQ Holmes, A.W. Lyons (from November 2008), P.J. Preston-Morley, J.G. Scott (to November 2008), F. Simmons (to November 2008), P. Skingley (to November 2008), R.H. Thompson (Council).

The registered address of the charity is that of the current Treasurer, P.H. Mernick, 42 Campbell Road, London E3 4DT and the Society's bankers are the National Westminster Bank PLC, PO Box 10720, 217 Strand, London, WC2R 1AL; CAF Bank Ltd, 25 Kings Hill, West Malling, Kent ME19 4JQ and Birmingham Midshires, PO Box 81, Pendeford Business Park, Wobaston Road, Wolverhampton WV9 5HZ. The Independent Examiner is R.A. Merson, FCA, Tanyard House, 13A Bridge Square, Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7QR.

Society meetings were held on the fourth Tuesday each month from January to June and September to November inclusive at the Warburg Institute, University of London, at which a substantive paper was read. On 5 July, a special one-day meeting on *Art in Coinage* was held at Cambridge. This was a joint meeting with the Royal Numismatic Society.

In March 2009 the Society published Volume 78 of *The British Numismatic Journal*. This was a hardbound volume of 315 pages and 23 plates, and contained 8 principal articles and 14 short articles and reviews. It also incorporated the 2008 Coin Register, which listed in detail 363 single coin finds in Great Britain and Ireland, the 2007 Presidential Address and Proceedings, and the Society's financial accounts for the year ended 31 December 2006.

The Society also produces a series of Special Publications, financed by the Osborne Fund. Although no new volumes were published during the year, work has continued on several planned.

Spink & Son Limited acts as distributor of the Society's publications.

During the year, the Society's web-site (www.britnumsoc.org) hosted by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, gave a mix of permanent factual information about the Society and details of its current programme of meetings and activities. In addition, UK members received three issues of the CCNB (Co-ordinating Committee for Numismatics in Britain) Newsletter containing short and topical articles, reviews and details of meetings and exhibitions.

The Society holds a substantial library, jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society, which is located at the Warburg Institute, and actively maintains a programme of acquiring new books and rebinding existing books, as necessary. Books are available for loan to members, both in person and by post.

Annual subscriptions were paid to the International Numismatic Commission and the British Association of Numismatic Societies (BANS).

The Society is financed by an annual subscription of £32, paid by both ordinary and institutional members, or £15, paid by members under 21 or in full-time education, together with interest on cash held on deposit and donations from members over and above their subscription.

The Trustees believe that the present level of uncommitted reserves set against current and planned expenditure is both prudent and proportionate. The Society's investment policy is reviewed by a Finance Committee.

All officers of the Society offer their services on a voluntary basis, and administrative costs were kept to a minimum consisting largely of stationery and postage.

The Society is actively seeking to increase its membership, both in Britain and overseas, the total of which has steadily risen to more than 600.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2008

	<i>General Fund £</i>	<i>Designated Funds £</i>	<i>Restricted Fund £</i>	<i>Total 2008 £</i>	<i>Total 2007 £</i>
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE					
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees received for 2008 and earlier years	18,995	—	—	18,995	18,360
Gift Aid	2,064	871	—	2,935	7,114
Interest received	4,791	5,087	541	10,419	10,211
Donations	34	750	—	784	3,082
Sale of Publications :-					
Backnumbers	562	—	—	562	655
Special Publications	—	1,062	—	1,062	1,737
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	26,446	7,770	541	34,757	41,159
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	12,905	—	—	12,905	18,798
CCNB Newsletter	857	—	—	857	564
Provincial Meetings	131	—	—	131	311
Linecar Lecture	—	—	—	-	500
Society Medals	—	—	—	-	158
London Meetings	735	—	—	735	589
North Prizes	—	7,340	—	7,340	—
Blunt Prize	—	—	300	300	—
Library	768	—	—	768	772
Subscriptions	136	—	—	136	142
Bank Charges	120	—	—	120	120
Other printing, postage, stationery and secretarial	2,161	—	—	2,161	931
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	17,813	7,340	300	25,453	22,885
NET INCOMING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS					
	8,633	430	241	9,304	18,274
FUND BALANCES	56,245	101,597	9,415	167,257	148,983
Brought forward 1 January 2008					
FUND BALANCES	64,878	102,027	9,656	176,561	167,257
Carried forward 31 December 2008					

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 DECEMBER 2008

	2008	2007
	£	£
GENERAL FUND	64,878	56,245
DESIGNATED FUNDS	102,027	101,597
RESTRICTED FUND	9,656	9,415
	<u>176,561</u>	<u>167,257</u>

ASSETS:

Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off	160	160
Sundry Debtors	4,038	4,700
Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
Bank – Deposit Accounts		
Current Accounts	192,340	185,930
	14,355	15,214
	<u>210,893</u>	<u>206,004</u>

LIABILITIES:

Subscriptions received in advance	6,299	5,419
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	2,440	2,150
Creditors and Provision for Journals	25,593	31,178
	<u>34,332</u>	<u>38,747</u>
	<u>176,561</u>	<u>167,257</u>

Registered Charity No. 275906
The accounts were approved by Council on 22 September 2009

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2008

1. Accounting Policies

Basis of Accounting

These accounts have been prepared under the historical cost convention, and in accordance with applicable accounting standards and the Statement of Recommended Practice on Accounting by Charities.

Fixed Assets

No value has been attributed in the balance sheet to the Society's library. The joint library of the Society and The Royal Numismatic Society was insured during the year ended 31 December 2008 at a value of £185,000 (subsequently increased to £415,650). The books are individually labelled as to which Society owns them, but for the purposes of practical day-to-day administration and the sharing of costs, one-third of the library is taken as belonging to The British Numismatic Society.

Stock

No value is attributed to the Society's stocks of Special Publications and *The British Numismatic Journal*.

Subscriptions

No credit is taken either for subscriptions received in advance or for subscriptions in arrears at the balance sheet date.

2. Designated Funds

	<i>North Fund</i> £	<i>Linecar Fund</i> £	<i>Osborne Fund</i> £	<i>Benefactors' Fund</i> £	<i>Total</i> £
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Donation	750	—	—	—	750
Gift aid	871	—	—	—	871
Interest received	840	590	3,499	158	5,087
Sales of Special Publications	—	—	1,062	—	1,062
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	2,461	590	4,561	158	7,770
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
North Book Prize	500	—	—	—	500
North Medal	6,840	—	—	—	6,840
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	7,340	—	—	—	7,340
NET (OUTGOING)/INCOMING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS					
FUND BALANCES	(4,879)	590	4,561	158	430
brought forward 1 January 2008	16,459	11,822	70,140	3,176	101,597
FUND BALANCES					
carried forward 31 December 2008	11,580	12,412	74,701	3,334	102,027

The General and Designated Funds are all unrestricted.

The Linecar Fund was started in 1986 with the bequest of £5,000 and Council has designated this Fund to provide for a biennial lecture in Mr Linecar's memory.

The Osborne Fund was started in 1991 with the bequest of £50,000 and Council has designated this Fund to finance the series of Special Publications.

The Benefactors' Fund consists of other bequests to the Society.

The North Fund was set up during 2006 with a generous donation from member Mr J.J. North and Council decided that this should partly be used to fund a biennial prize for the best book on British Numismatics published in the last three years. This donation, and a further one of £3,000 in 2007, were made under Gift Aid and income tax has been reclaimed and added to the Fund. In 2007 Council decided additionally to use part of the Fund to establish the Jeffrey North Medal, to be awarded occasionally to members of the Society or others in recognition of outstanding services to British numismatics, whether in the UK or overseas.

3. Restricted Fund: The Prize Fund

Following an appeal for donations in 2005, the Society created a new Prize Fund with the purpose of supporting the John Sanford Saltus Medal, the Blunt Prize (formerly called the Council Prize) and any other award the Society might introduce in the future.

PRIZE FUND	£
INCOMING RESOURCES	
Interest received	541
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	<u>541</u>
RESOURCES EXPENDED	
Blunt Prize	300
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	<u>300</u>
NET INCOMING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	241
FUND BALANCE brought forward 1 January 2008	9,415
FUND BALANCE carried forward 31 December 2008	<u>9,656</u>

4. Creditors and Provision for Journals

	£
<i>British Numismatic Journal 78</i> (2008), published March 2009	12,093
<i>British Numismatic Journal 79</i> (2009), to be published January 2010	13,500
	<u>25,593</u>

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I report on the accounts of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2008, which are set out on pages 251–5.

Respective responsibilities of trustees and examiner

Council as the Society's trustees are responsible for the preparation of the accounts; and consider that the audit requirement of Section 43(2) of the Charities Act 1993 does not apply. It is my responsibility to state, on the basis of procedures specified in the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners under Section 43(7) (b) of that Act, whether particular matters have come to my attention.

Basis of independent examiner's report

My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the Society and a comparison of the accounts presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the accounts, and seeking explanations from Council concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the view given by the accounts.

Independent examiner's statement

In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:

- (a) which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements to keep accounting records in accordance with section 41 of the Charities Act 1993; and to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with the accounting requirements of that Act have not been met; or
- (b) to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

R.A. Merson, F.C.A.
Tanyard House,
13A Bridge Square,
Farnham,
Surrey,
GU9 7QR.

22 September 2009

Reprinted from

**THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
2010**

Available online at <http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml>

VOLUME 80

2010

MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

31 DECEMBER 2009

Note: All members live in the United Kingdom except where indicated. Honorary members are denoted by an asterisk.

HONORARY AND ORDINARY MEMBERS

1995 Abramson, A.I.J.	1987 Bland, Dr R.F., OBE
1975 Adamson, A.S.	1990 Blunt, R.C.A.
2001 Alexander, S.T.N.	2002 Bolton, Angela M.
1962 Allen, J.C.	1983 Bonser, M.J.
1977 Allen, Dr M.R.	2002 Bontekoe, E. (USA)
2006 Allen, S.J.	1987 Bor, E.
1975 Alliss, G.P.	1997 Bornholdt-Collins, Dr Kristin A. (USA)
2006 Ambrose, R.J.	2006 Brace, Dr Patricia J. (Canada)
1988 Anderson, I.B.	2001 Brand, N.P. (USA)
1956 Anderson, M.J.	2009 Brannon, A.
1968 Andrew, J.P.	2006 Briddick, F.W.
1990 Anstiss, T.G.	1994 Bridgewater, M.A.
1995 Anze, Dr O. (Brazil)	2006 Brighouse, B.
2000 Archer, E.P.	1999 Broomfield, P.M.
*1962 Archibald, Marion M.	2002 Brown, Felicity
1998 Arthur, Dr B.	1954 Brown, Prof. I.D. (Canada)
1991 Ashman, K.G.	1998 Brown, J.D.
1971 Atkinson, Eileen M.	1946 Brown, L.A
1990 Attwood, P.	2006 Bude, Prof. R. (USA)
2005 Ayling-Smith, D.	1985 Bull, M.
1987 Bailey, D.T.	1986 Burnett, Dr A.M.
1999 Baker, Prof. D.C. (USA)	2008 Burns, P.
1978 Baker, R.	1975 Burrows, O.M.
1968 Baldwin, A.H.E.	2003 Butters, R.E. (Australia)
1996 Ball, J.D. (Canada)	1965 Byde, A.G.
1972 Bamforth, J.H., OBE (Channel Islands)	1966 Campbell, Dr A.J.P.
1987 Barclay, C.P.	2006 Carr, D.P. (Australia)
2007 Barnett, A.C.	2008 Carsten, R.
1996 Barras, Dr R.	2003 Carter, Sally A.
2003 Barratt, J.W.	1994 Cary, T.J.
2008 Barrett, R.M.	1980 Casey, P.J.
1987 Bateson, Dr J.D.	2000 Cates, G.W. (Australia)
2006 Beatty, S.W. (USA)	1972 Challis, Dr C.E.
1996 Bennett, Dr G.J.	2008 Chandrasekhar, J. (USA)
1999 Bentall, D.E.	2005 Chapman, Dr A.
*1953 Berghaus, Prof. P. (Germany)	1994 Charman, G.W.
1987 Bernard, K.J. (USA)	1969 Chater, A.O.
2005 Berryman, I.	2005 Chatwin, J.R.
2002 Berwick, P.E. (Rep. of Ireland)	1997 Cheek, J.
1984 Besly, E.M.	1997 Cheesman, Dr C.E.A.
2006 Bianchi, D.C. (USA)	2001 Cherry, P.J.
*1978 Biddle, Prof. M.	2005 Chimirri-Russell, Geraldine (Canada)
1977 Biggs, Prof. N.L.	1971 Chown, J.F.
2004 Bignall, J.	2007 Christensen, Prof. P.A.
1996 Bishop, R.	1993 Churchill, R.C.
1976 Bispham, J.	1993 Clancy, Dr K.
1971 Blackburn, Dr M.A.S.	1968 Clarke, M.P.
2007 Blake, A.B.	2002 Clarke, N.
2009 Blakemore, E.	1977 Clarke, W.N. (Canada)
1987 Blakey, R.G. (Canada)	2006 Colgan, E.T.

1996 Collings, Dr F.L.W.	1984 Ewing, M.I.H.
1976 Comber, C.H.	1968 Falkiner, R.G.
2006 Comerford, E. (Rep. of Ireland)	2008 Fangen, D.R.
2007 Connolly, J.	1970 Farey, R.A.
2008 Connor, P.J.	1986 Farthing, Lt Cdr C.R.S.
1977 Cook, Dr B.J.J.	2003 Faux, G.E. (Australia)
2001 Cook, P.J.	1961 Fearon, D.
2007 Cook, T.D. (USA)	2006 Fears, H.K. (USA)
2007 Cooper, R.G.	1968 Fenton, S.C.
2008 Cottrell, K.R.	2008 Finlay, J.D.
1986 Courtney, Dr Yolanda C.	1965 Fitts, A.M. (USA)
2000 Cox, A.G.	2009 Fletcher, E.L.
1998 Coyte, P.D.C.	2001 Forbes, R.J.
1990 Crabtree, P.M.	2000 Ford, S. (USA)
1995 Crafter, T.C.R.	2004 Fox, Dr A.W. (UK)
2003 Crellin, A.P. (Australia)	1998 Freehill, M.E. (Australia)
1998 Cribb, J.E.	2002 Freeman, Emily F.V.
2009 Crisp, M.A.G.	1998 Freeman, S.
1999 Critchley, S.R.	1972 Freeman, Dr W.A.D.
2009 Cross, J.G.	2002 Furner, J.M.T.
1990 Cross, J.N.	1975 Fynes, Dr R.C.C.
1989 Cuddeford, M.J.	1968 Gallagher, C. (Rep. of Ireland)
2007 Cudmore, P.D.	2003 Gannon, Dr Anna
1991 Curteis, Dr M.	2003 Gardiner, J.
1967 Curtis, B.T.	2005 Garli, L.
2006 Darrington, D.E.	2005 Garner, G.E.
2001 Davies, Dr D.N.I.	2005 Garnett, R.
1995 Davies, Dr J.A.	1969 Gaspar, Prof. P.P. (USA)
1977 Davis, A.J.	1984 Gilbert, A.J.
1985 Davis, Dr D.C. (USA)	2003 Gillespie, A.
1970 Davis, R.L.	2003 Giordano, J.S. (USA)
1994 Davison, I.D.	1976 Gittoes, G.P.
1982 Davisson, Dr A. (USA)	1983 Glews, P.
2006 Dawson, A.M.	1962 Goddard, J.L.
1969 de Clermont, A.P.	2009 Goldshinsky, E. (USA)
2000 de Jersey, Dr P.	1984 Gomm, J.D.
1977 de Wit, Prof. G.W. (Netherlands)	2002 Gooch, Megan L.
1984 Dekesel, Drs C.E.	2007 Goode, J.K. (USA)
2007 Dekin-Parry, J.	1964 Goodling, E.C. (USA)
1977 Dickinson, M.J.	2008 Gould, T. (USA)
2005 Dodd, R.E.	2005 Graff, Prof. G.L. (Belgium)
2006 Donnelly, C.W.	1992 Graham, P.L.
1983 Doty, Dr R.G. (USA)	1995 Grayburn, R.E.H.
2006 Drabold, Prof. D. (USA)	1978 Greenaway, Sir J.M.B.
1994 Duerr, W. (Germany)	1975 Greenhalgh, D.I.
2002 Dunlop, A.	1999 Griffin, R.F.
1990 Dunlop, G.	1979 Griffiths, D.B.
1962 Dupree, T.W.J.D.	2007 Griffiths, M.
2005 Durst, S.J. (USA)	2006 Guest, D.
1963 Dyer, G.P., OBE	2005 Gullbekk, Prof. S.H. (Norway)
*1954 Dykes, Dr D.W.	2001 Haller-Williams, R.D.
1978 Eaglen, Dr R.J.	1992 Halse, A.M.
1999 Earland-Bennett, P.M.	2005 Hammond, B.
2009 Eastick, B.R.	2004 Hanajima, M. (Japan)
2000 Eckardt, K.V.	2006 Handebo, R.N.
2006 Edmond, G.M. (Australia)	2007 Harl, K. (USA)
1968 Edmondson, R.W.	1984 Harpin, D.W.
1981 Eimer, A.C.	2002 Harrison, R.A.
2005 Elks, K.J.J.	1984 Harvey, Yvonne
1970 Enright, J.A.	2005 Haselden, Dr J.E.
1946 Erskine, The Hon. R.W.H.	1998 Hatch, R.
2005 Eustace, Katharine A.T.	1978 Hawkins, A.P.
2006 Everitt, R.J.	2007 Hawkins, S.N.
1997 Everson, T.F.J.	2008 Hayward, P.S. (USA)
2003 Ewbank, R.R.	1998 Hedley, G.

2003 Herrington, T.J.	1976 Macpherson, R.A.
2004 Hewson, R.L.N.	1988 Maddicott, Dr J.R.L.
1998 Higginson, P.P.	1982 Mader, B.M. (Germany)
2000 Hill, P.M.	2001 Mahoney, C.-E.
1995 Hill, S.A.	1996 Mäkelä, Dr H. (Sweden)
1982 Hillier, M.J.	1963 Manville, H.E. (USA)
2000 Hodge, E.C.	2006 Manz, G. (Canada)
1976 Hodgson, T.H.	1986 Margolis, R. (USA)
1994 Holland, Dr P.M. (USA)	2009 Marian, M.C.
1991 Holman, D.J.	1972 Martin, C.J.
1980 Holmes, A.J.	1995 Martin, Dr D.M.
2006 Holmes, Caroline L.	2002 Matthews, R.W.
1977 Holmes, N.M. McQ.	1982 Mattinson, J.B.
1964 Hooke, J.H.T. (United Arab Emirates)	1996 Mayell, B.J.
2005 Hulett, F.	1973 Mayhew, Prof. N.J.
1996 Hulett, Dr J.R.R.	2008 Maynard, A.G.
2004 Humphries, S.	1984 Mays, Dr Melinda
1963 Hyde, Dr R.J.	2009 McBean, D.
1996 Inder, R.A.	1985 McCammon, A.L.T. (Switzerland)
2008 James, Dr B.	2000 McCormick, J.N.
2006 Jenkins, R.W.	1992 McFadden, E.J.
1984 Jensen, Dr J.S. (Denmark)	2008 McKivor, W. (USA)
1999 Jobling, E.M.	1996 Meadows, Janet E.
1990 Jones, Dr A.V.	2001 Mellor, F.W.
1990 Jones, Dr I.N.	1970 Mernick, P.H.
1983 Jones, M.E.P.	1970 Merson, R.A.A.
*2004 Jonsson, Prof. K. (Sweden)	1966 Metcalf, Prof. D.M.
1976 Julian, R.W. (USA)	1984 Miller, Dr D.
1994 Jull, I.D.	1978 Milward, F.J.W.
1996 Karon, P.W. (USA)	1980 Minnitt, S.C.
2003 Kelleher, R.M.	2006 Mitchell, Prof. L.D. (USA)
2004 Kenny, M.E. (Ireland)	1954 Mitchell, P.D.
*1974 Keynes, Prof. S.D.	1973 Mitchell, S.
1992 Kightley, D.B.	1986 Mitchiner, Dr M.B.
1975 King, J.D. (USA)	2009 Molyneaux, G.L.W.
2000 Kirton, R. (Germany)	2005 Moore, G. (USA)
2007 Knipe, C.P.	1986 Moorhead, T.S.N.
2008 Kretz, R.	2007 Morse, T.F.
1984 Kricheldorf, V. (Germany)	1987 Morton, J.L.
2005 Kurz, P.O. (USA)	1995 Mullaly, T.F.S.
1998 Lamont, E.J.	1995 Mussell, J.W.
2008 Lamptey, Dr C.	2000 Myers, W.
2002 Laurie, R.	2003 Naismith, R.G.R.
2006 Leather, C.D.	2009 Nedelchev, N.I. (Bulgaria)
1982 Lee, D.	2007 Nelson, B. (USA)
2005 Legg, T.C.	1992 Neupert, P.E. (USA)
1981 Leighton, J.	2003 Nevett, Janet (Canada)
2008 Leins, I.	2006 Nicholl, A.P.A.
1964 Lessen, M. (USA)	2008 Nicholson, N.K.
2000 Levine, Dr E.L.	1999 Nixon, E.R.
1998 Lewis, P.M.	1992 Noakes, D.W.
2005 Lines, Dr J.	1972 Noble, W.J. (Australia)
1984 Linzalone, J.P. (USA)	1981 Norfolk, Elizabeth K.
1954 Lister, Major C.W.	1995 Norman, T.G.
1993 Lloyd, Dr C.D.	*1957 North, J.J.
2009 Lloyd-Jones, P.	1993 O'Fee, M.B.
2004 Lockett, S.J.	1995 Oddie, Dr G.M.
1980 Lorich, B. (USA)	2003 Ogden, G.S.
1998 Loulakakis, D.G.	1966 O'Hara, M.D.
1973 Lubbock, R.M.	2006 Orr, Lucinda E.
2008 Lusk, J. (USA)	1998 Owen, D.A.
*1945 Lyon, Dr C.S.S.	1996 Owens, R.L. (USA)
1977 Lyons, Maj.-Gen. A.W.	1963 Pagan, H.E.
2006 Mackay, Dr K.M. (New Zealand)	1984 Palmer, D.J.
1999 MacKay, W.A.	1997 Palmer, D.R.

- 2001 Palmer, Rev. D.R. (France)
 1983 Palmer, T.M.
 2009 Parker, D.G. (USA)
 1996 Parker, G.S.
 2006 Patel, H.
 2009 Paterson, Dr C. (USA)
 1988 Patterson, Major E.J.
 1998 Peakall, G.A.
 2007 Pearce, R.J.
 2000 Pennock, D.C.
 2004 Perkins, C.H.
 1998 Perry, J.T. (USA)
 1997 Peters, K.W.
 1986 Petersson, Dr H.B.A. (Sweden)
 1998 Phillips, P.E.
 1999 Phillips, T.G. (Gibraltar)
 1968 Pitchfork, Dr C.E. (Australia)
 2001 Platt, Dr J.J. (USA)
 2008 Poole, I.C.L.
 1955 Porteous, J., OBE
 1997 Postlethwaite, I.T.
 2002 Powell, D.M.
 1992 Powell, M.W. (Luxembourg)
 2007 Power, Sarah
 2001 Pradier, S.B. (USA)
 1977 Preston-Morley, P.J.
 2002 Prevost, N.R.
 2002 Puddester, R.P. (Canada)
 1963 Pybus, B.
 2003 Raeside, S.C.
 1990 Rainey, E.D.
 1982 Rainey, J.F.
 2004 Rambach, H.J.
 2008 Rampling, Dr D.J. (Australia)
 1976 Rasmussen, M.C.S.
 2009 Restorick, G.M.J.
 1961 Rhodes, N.G.
 2006 Rich, M. (Australia)
 2007 Richardson, R.
 2005 Riddle, G.L.
 1990 Riley, C.M.W.
 1988 Roberts-Lewis, J.E.
 2001 Robertson, J.M. (USA)
 1993 Robinson, Dr B.
 2007 Robinson, J.J. (USA)
 1971 Robinson, Dr P.H.
 1999 Robinson, R.J.
 2006 Ronus, R.E.G. (USA)
 2001 Rooney, C.H.T.
 1991 Rudd, C.G.
 1974 Rudling, D.R.
 2006 Russell, D.
 2001 Salmond, D.G.R.
 2002 Sampson, R.B.
 1969 Sancroft-Baker, R.S.
 2008 Sandberg, A.L.
 1986 Sanders, Rev. R.M.
 1979 Saville, D.H.
 2002 Sawyer, A.M.
 1988 Scheers, Prof. S.A.M. (Belgium)
 2009 Schichler, Prof. R. (USA)
 1978 Schneider, Dr I. (USA)
 1982 Schwer, P.A.S.
 1998 Scott, D.
 1962 Scott, J.G.
- 2003 Screen, Dr Elina M.
 2000 Sealey, Dr P.R.
 1953 Sealy, D.L.F.
 1965 Seaman, R.J.
 2004 Searle, R.W.
 1984 Sellwood, D.G.
 1959 Sharp, M.B.
 2001 Shaw, M.W.
 1990 Shea, K.W. (Australia)
 2007 Shelton, R.J.
 2005 Shepherd, B.S.
 2005 Shipley, R.J.
 1998 Shott, M.
 1999 Sills, J.A.
 1996 Simmons, Frances
 2006 Simpson, Prof. J. (Spain)
 1990 Simpson, J.N.
 1994 Sinclair, May
 2000 Singer, Dr G.A. (USA)
 1967 Sirr, C.C. (USA)
 1998 Skellern, S.L.
 1997 Skingley, P.
 1974 Sly, J.S.
 1959 Smart, Dr Veronica J.
 2009 Smith, M.L.
 1999 Smith, P.N.
 2009 Soeder, G.B. (Channel Islands)
 1982 Sorenson, Dr D.W. (USA)
 2007 Sorowka, P.
 1987 Spring, Dr J.S.
 1952 Spufford, Prof. P.
 1996 Stafford-Langan, J. (Rep. of Ireland)
 2009 Stevens, Dr G.C.
 1975 Stevens, Dr P.J.E.
 2002 Stewart, J.L.
 *1952 Stewartby, Rt Hon Lord B.H.I.
 2003 Stocker, Dr M.A. (New Zealand)
 2004 Stone, T.G. (Canada)
 1989 Strange, R.J.
 1982 Strawbridge, J.J.
 1999 Stuart, D.C.
 1993 Stueve, Col. C.R. (USA)
 2007 Sulo, H.A.
 1990 Symons, Dr D.J.
 2000 Talbot, J.A.
 *2004 Talvio, Dr T. (Finland)
 2008 Tasker, C.D.
 1991 Taylor, S.D.
 2007 Telford, B.D. (USA)
 1984 Teller, M.L. (USA)
 1985 ter Haar, R.E.L., QC
 2001 Terner, Dr J.Y. (USA)
 1983 Thomas, R.I.
 1975 Thompson, P.R.
 1977 Thompson, R.H.
 1963 Thomson, I.C.
 2009 Timmins, P.
 1998 Tisbury, D.J.
 1986 Tomlinson-Fort, E. (USA)
 1998 Tooley, N.
 2007 Travis, A.J.
 1990 Treleaven, P.J.
 2002 Trenery, M.J.B.
 2006 Tungate, Susan
 2002 Turnbull, P.P.

2005 Turner, J.T.	2004 Wells, N.A.
2001 Turner, Dr R.K.	1966 Wertheim, J.D.
1979 Van Arsdell, R.D. (USA)	1972 West, V.D.
*1958 van der Meer, Drs G. (Netherlands)	1989 Wetton, N.L.
1994 Varnham, R.P.	2003 Wheeler, Rt Hon Sir John
1971 Vecchi, I.	2006 Whitty, M.G.
1983 Vice, D.L.	2000 Wilkes, T.
2009 Volckart, Dr O.J.G.	1990 Williams, A.A. (Australia)
1993 von Geldern, E. (USA)	1970 Williams, D.M.
1996 Vosper, M.R.	2008 Williams, G.
1983 Waddell, P.D.S.	1990 Williams, H.P.G.
1999 Wade, M.J. (Australia)	2004 Williamson, C.M.
1997 Waldron, M.J. (Hong Kong)	1995 Wilson, A. (USA)
2002 Walker, Dr C.T. (Germany)	2009 Winiger, M.F.
1974 Walker, D.A.	2006 Winstanley, V.M.
2005 Wander, Dr C.	1995 Wise, P.J.
2009 Wardle, A.T.J.	1977 Withers, P.
2008 Wayne, Dr A.	2000 Wood, Dr D.A.
1989 Webb, C.A.	*1952 Woodhead, P.
1974 Webb Ware, T.G.	2009 Woods, A.R.
1987 Weijer, Dr N.F. (Netherlands)	2006 Wyber, Rev. R.J.
2008 Weir, J.	1995 Wyer, J.W.
2006 Weir, R. (Canada)	1973 Young, D.M.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS AND EXCHANGES

Australia

Adelaide, State Library of South Australia
 Melbourne, Numismatic Association of Australia
 Melbourne, State Library of Victoria
 Sydney, Fisher Library, University of Sydney
 Sydney, State Library of New South Wales

Austria

Vienna, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte,
 Universität Wien
 Vienna, Oesterreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft

Belgium

Brussels, Le Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque
 Royale
 Louvain, The Catholic University of Louvain

Canada

Ottawa, National Currency Collection, Bank of
 Canada
 Toronto, University of Toronto Library

Denmark

Copenhagen, Kgl Mønt- og Medaillesamling,
 Nationalmuseet

Estonia

Tallinn, Academy of Sciences

Finland

Helsinki, Finnish Antiquarian Society

France

Paris, Le Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque
 Nationale

Germany

Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatliche Museen
 Frankfurt, Münzhandlung (c/o Dr Busso Peus Nachf)
 Hamburg, Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte
 Hannover, Niedersächsisches Münzkabinett, Deutsche
 Bank
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
 Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung
 Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum
 Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum
 Münzkabinett

Greece

Athens, Numismatic Museum

Italy

Padova, Bottacin Mueum
 Rome, Istituto Italiano di Numismatica
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Netherlands

Utrecht, Stichting Geld- en Bankmuseum

Norway

Oslo, Museum of Cultural History (Universitetets
 Myntkabinett)
 Trondheim, Universitetsbiblioteket

Poland

Lodz, Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne
 Warsaw, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii

Republic of Ireland

Dublin, National Library of Ireland
 Dublin, National Museum of Ireland
 Dublin, Numismatic Society of Ireland

Russia

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

Spain

Barcelona, Humanities Library

Valencia, Valencia Humanities Library

Sweden

Stockholm, Numismatic Institute

Stockholm, Royal Coin Cabinet

Uppsala, University Library

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Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum

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Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk Archaeological Service

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Colchester, Colchester Museums

Durham, University Library

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London, British Museum

London, Glendining & Co.

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London, Society of Antiquaries

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Norwich, Castle Museum

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Ponctelun, Royal Mint

Reading, Coin Club

Reading, Museum of Reading

Reading, University Library

Sheffield, University Library

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Spalding, Gentlemen's Society

Winchester, City Museum

Yeadon, Yorkshire Numismatic Society

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(CT) New Haven, Yale University Library

(DC) Washington, Library of Congress

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VOLUME 80

2010

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANS	American Numismatic Society	CTCE	C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, <i>Coinage in Tenth-Century England</i> (Oxford, 1989)
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>	<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports	<i>ECHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
BL	British Library	<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
BM	British Museum	EMC	Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds
BMC	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i>	FPL	Fixed Price List
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	GM	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	JBAA	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
BNS	British Numismatic Society	MBS	Mail Bid Sale
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>	MEC	P. Grierson and M.A.S. Blackburn, <i>Medieval European Coinage</i> Cambridge, 1986 –)
CBA	Council for British Archaeology	MIN	<i>Metallurgy in Numismatics</i>
CCI	Celtic Coin Index	NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
CH	<i>Coin Hoards</i>		
<i>CHRB</i>	<i>Coin Hoards from Roman Britain</i>		
CNS	<i>Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt</i>		

<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular</i>	<i>RBN</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique</i>
<i>NNÅ</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift</i>	<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>	<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>NNUM</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatik Unions Medlemsblad</i>	<i>RNS</i>	<i>Royal Numismatic Society</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>SCBI</i>	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities Scheme</i>	<i>SCMB</i>	<i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i>
<i>PRO</i>	<i>Public Record Office</i>	<i>TAR</i>	<i>Treasure Annual Report</i>
<i>ProcINC</i>	<i>Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress</i>	<i>TNA: PRO</i>	<i>The National Archives: Public Record Office</i>
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>	<i>TTRC</i>	<i>Treasure Trove Review Committee</i>
		<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>

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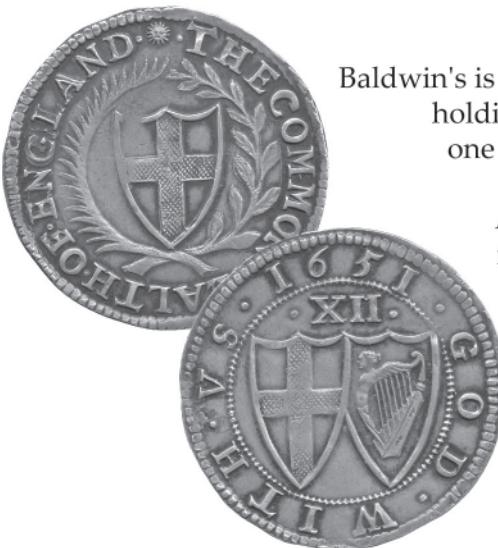


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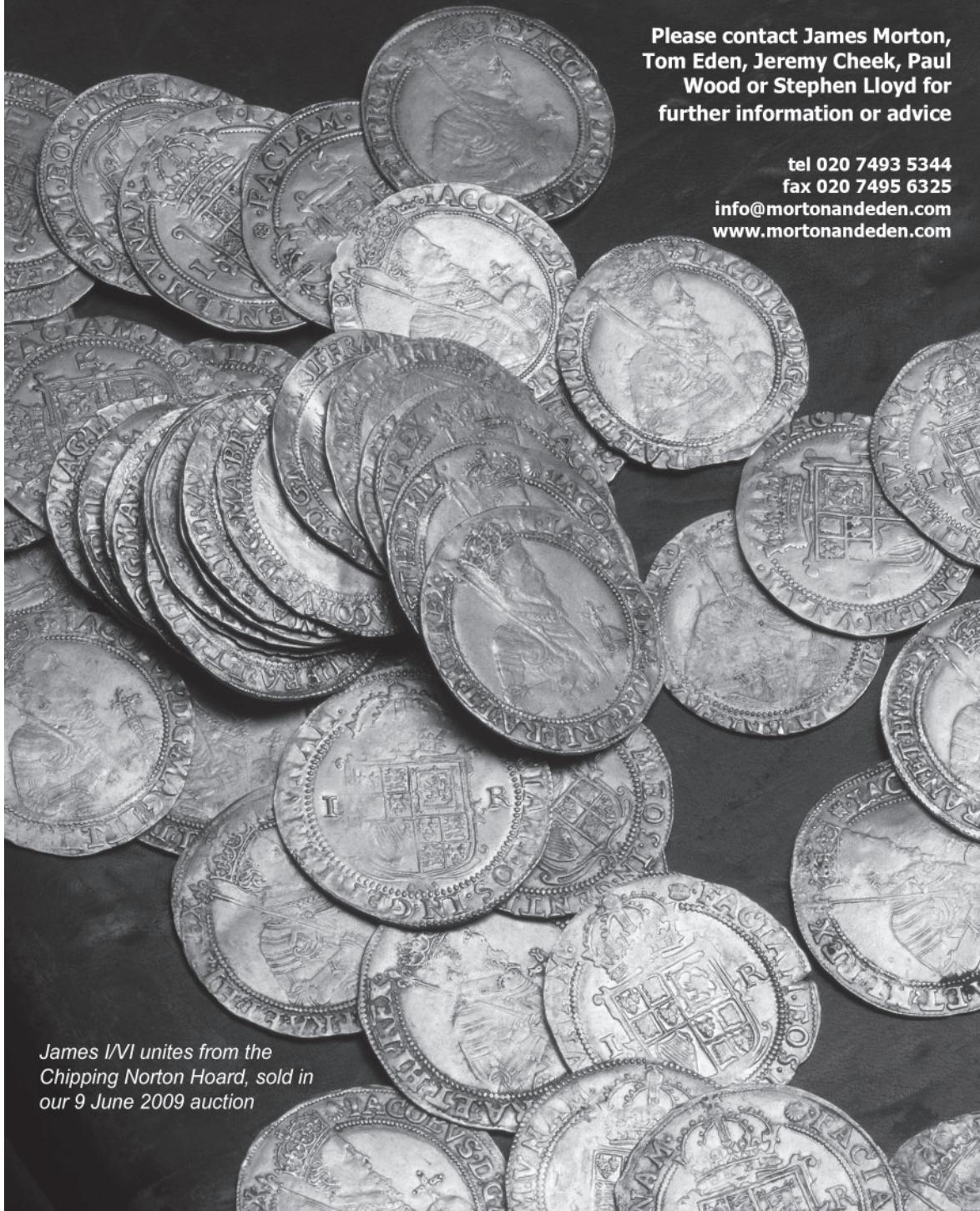
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*Cheriton Smiler gold stater c.55-45 BC,
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VOLUME 80

2010

PLATE SECTION

PLATE 1

SNETTISHAM



EARLY IRSTEAD



IRSTEAD



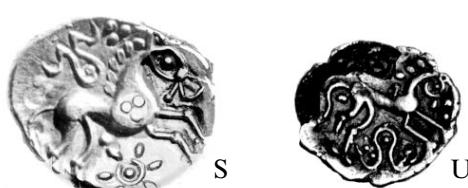
EBH
(EARLY BOAR
HORSE)



BHB
(BOAR HORSE B)



BHC
(BOAR HORSE C)



KEY

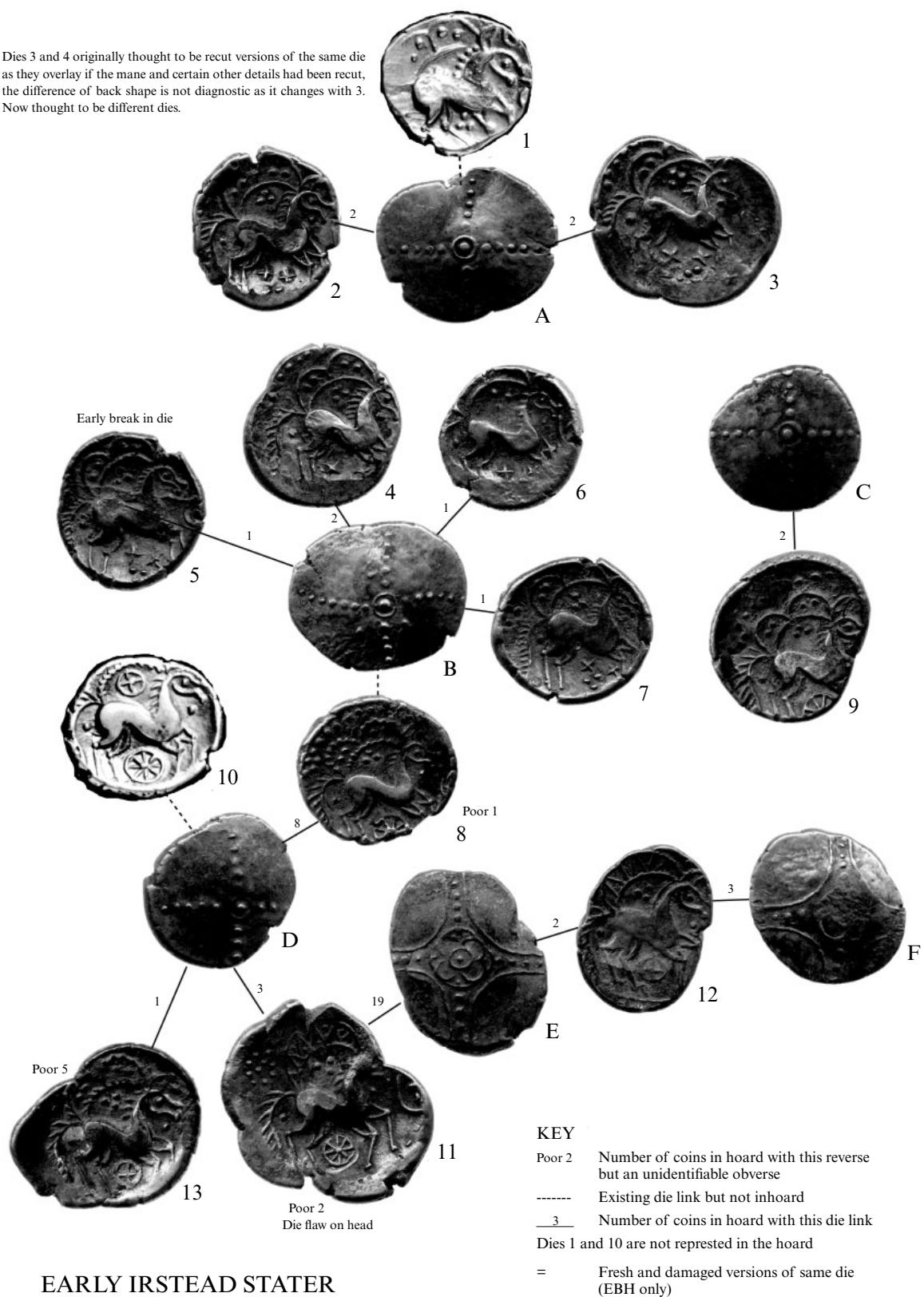
- S Stater
- Q Fractional stater
- U Silver Unit
- F Fractional silver unit

ICENIAN DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS

TALBOT AND LEINS: WICKHAM MARKET (1)

PLATE 2

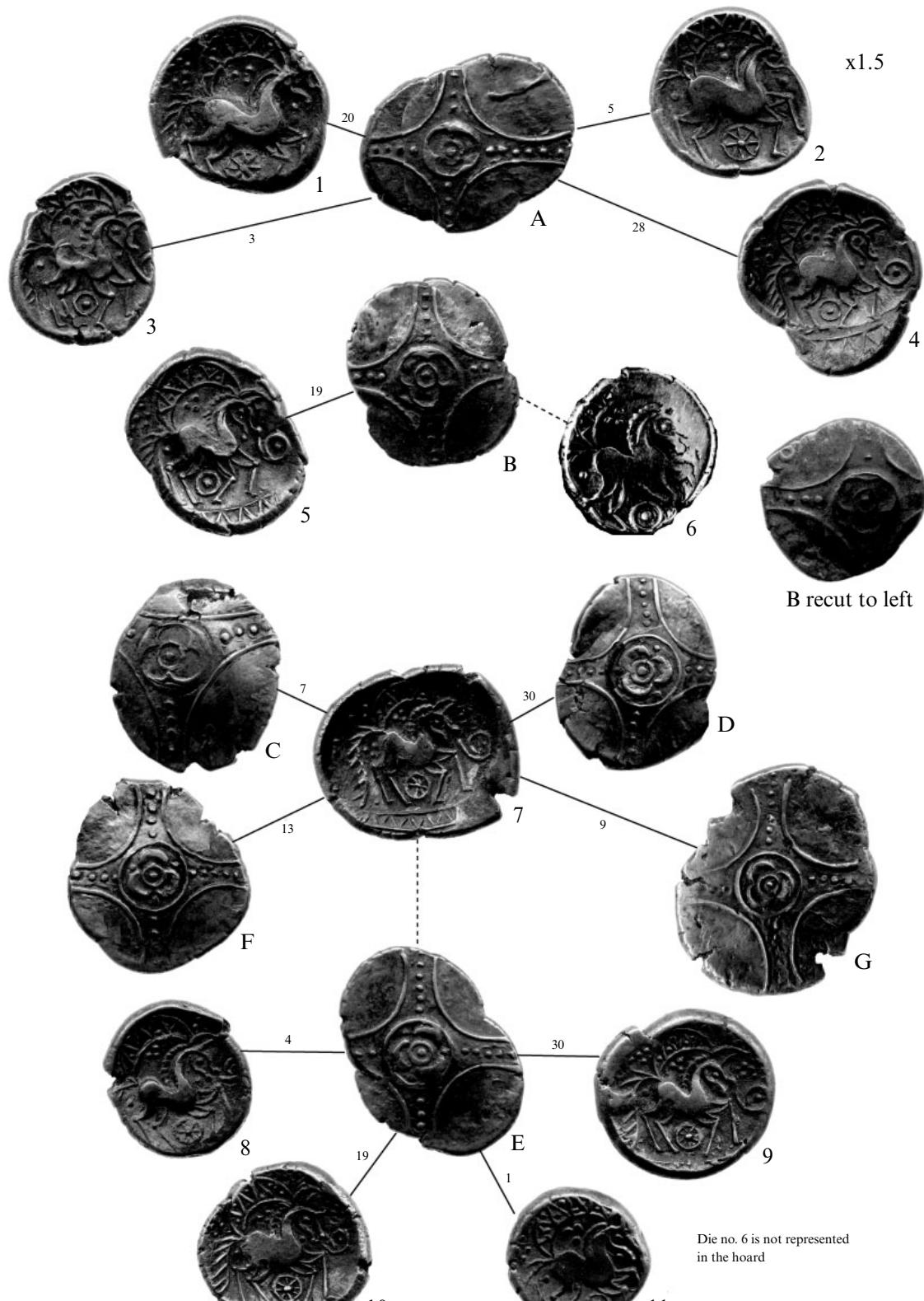
Dies 3 and 4 originally thought to be recut versions of the same die as they overlay if the mane and certain other details had been recut, the difference of back shape is not diagnostic as it changes with 3. Now thought to be different dies.



EARLY IRSTEAD STATER

TALBOT AND LEINS: WICKHAM MARKET (2)

PLATE 3



IRSTEAD STATER

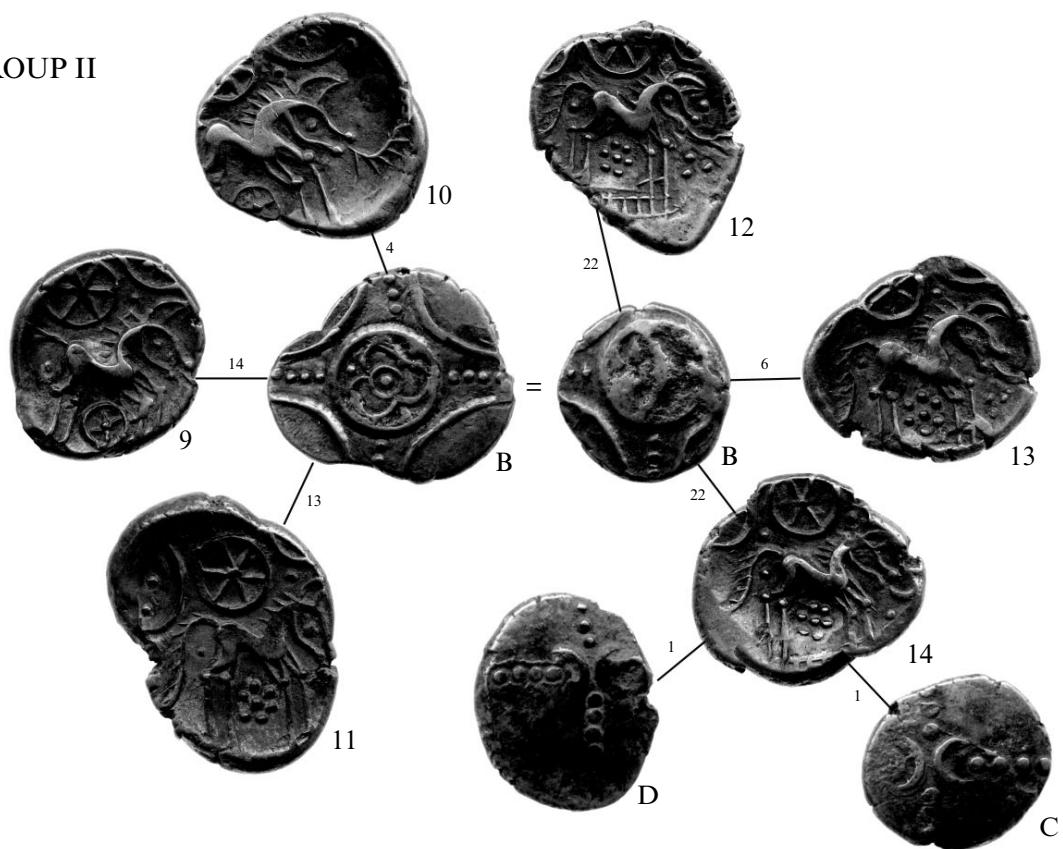
TALBOT AND LEINS: WICKHAM MARKET (3)

PLATE 4
x1.5

GROUP I



GROUP II

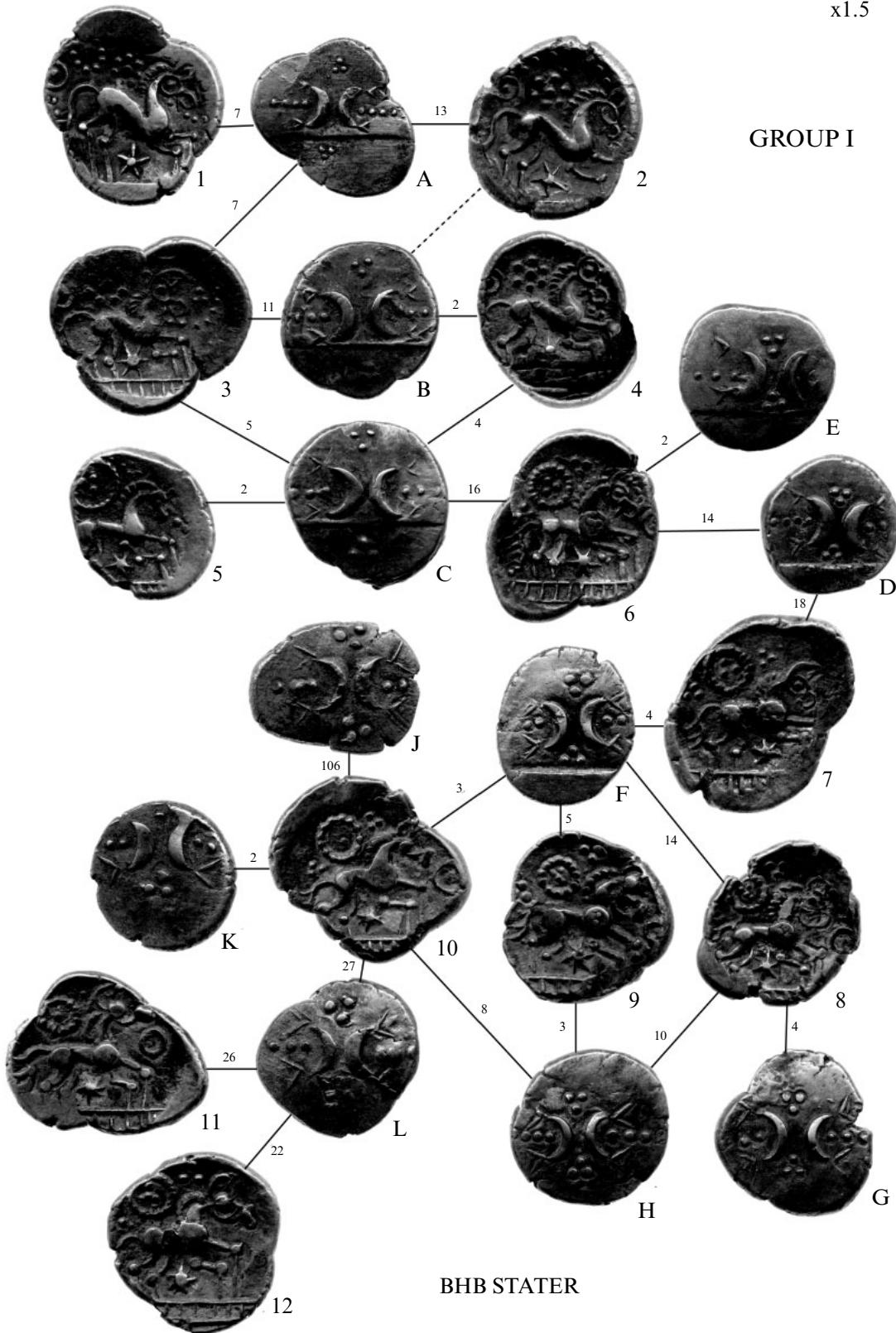


EBH STATER

TALBOT AND LEINS: WICKHAM MARKET (4)

PLATE 5

x1.5



TALBOT AND LEINS: WICKHAM MARKET (5)

PLATE 6
x1.5



Dies Q, R, S, 14, 15 and 16 are not represented in the hoard

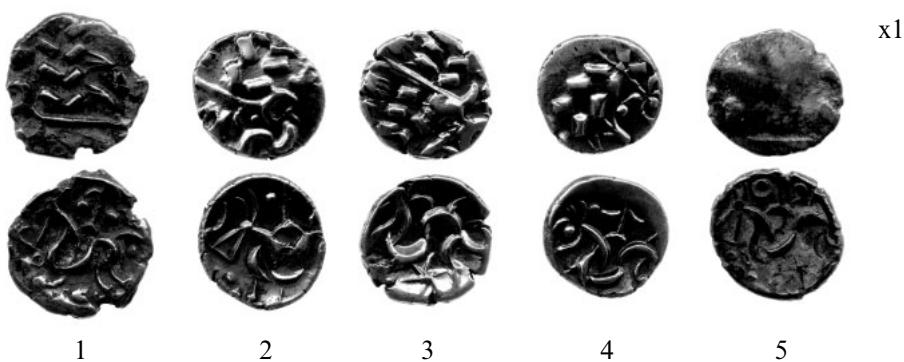
GROUP II



BHB STATER CONT'D



SNETTISHAM STATERS

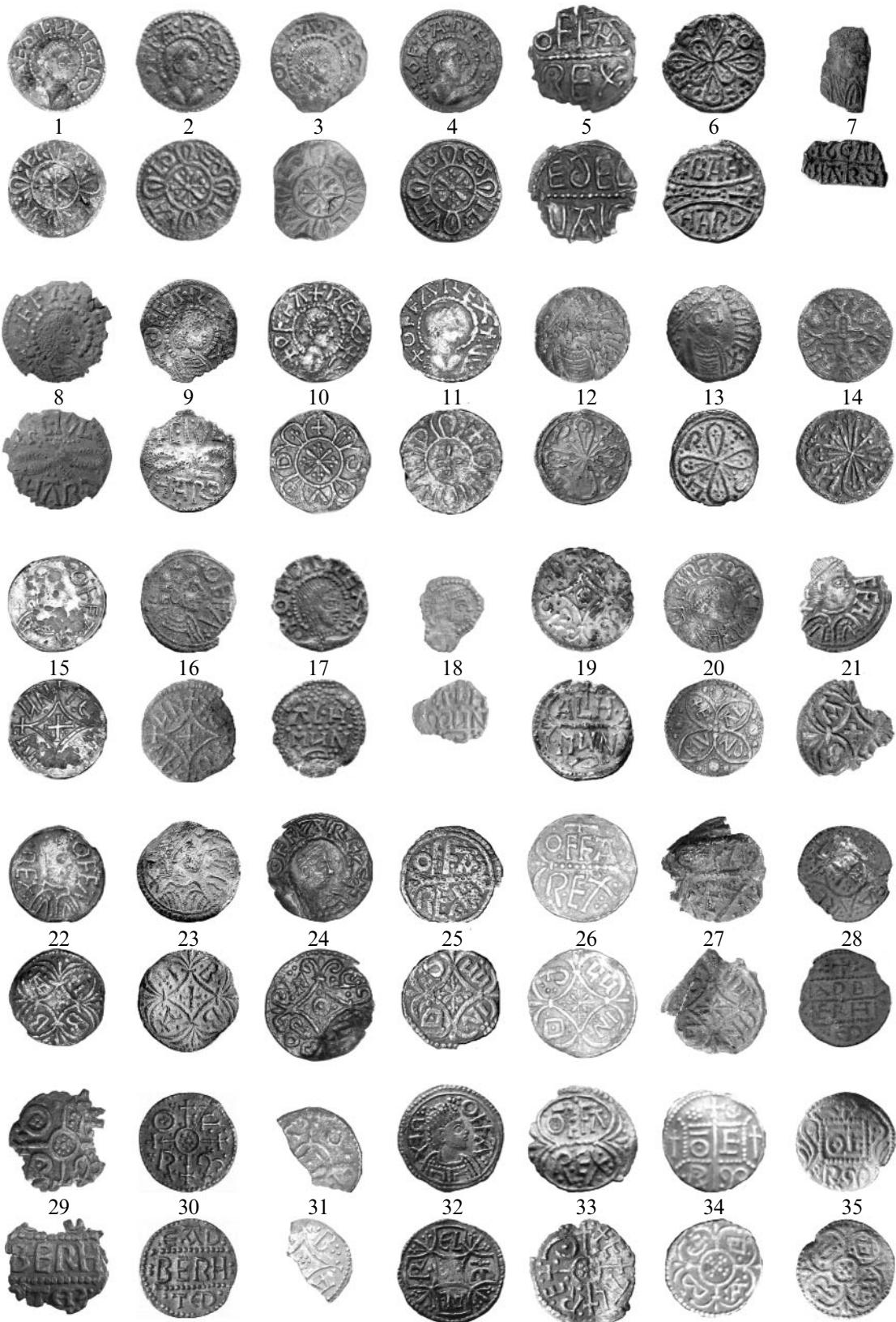


NORTH EASTERN STATERS

Note - Snettisham and North Eastern staters are shown with their catalogue numbers and the die references for Snettisham types are from John Talbot's ongoing die study.

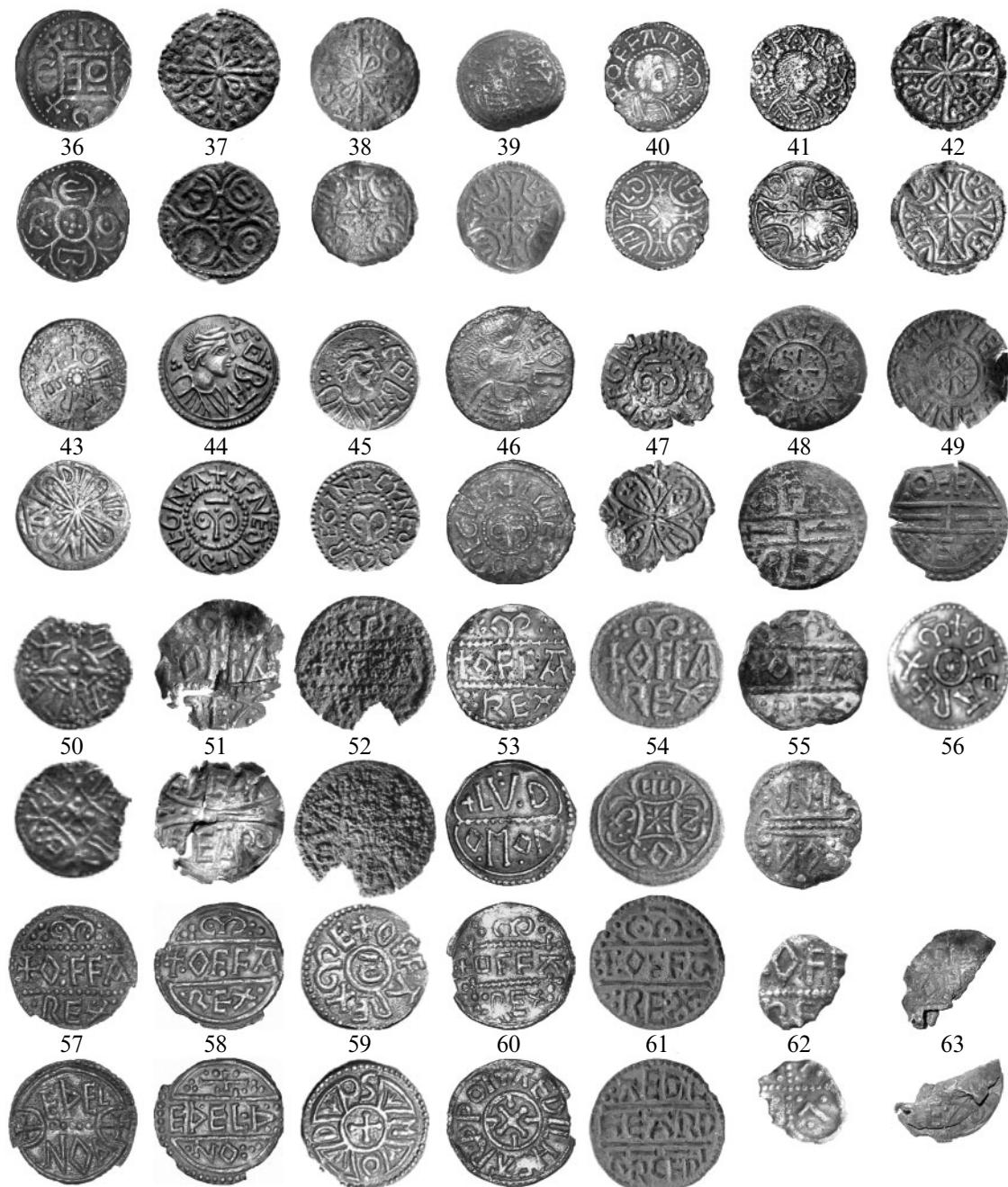
TALBOT AND LEINS: WICKHAM MARKET (6)

PLATE 7



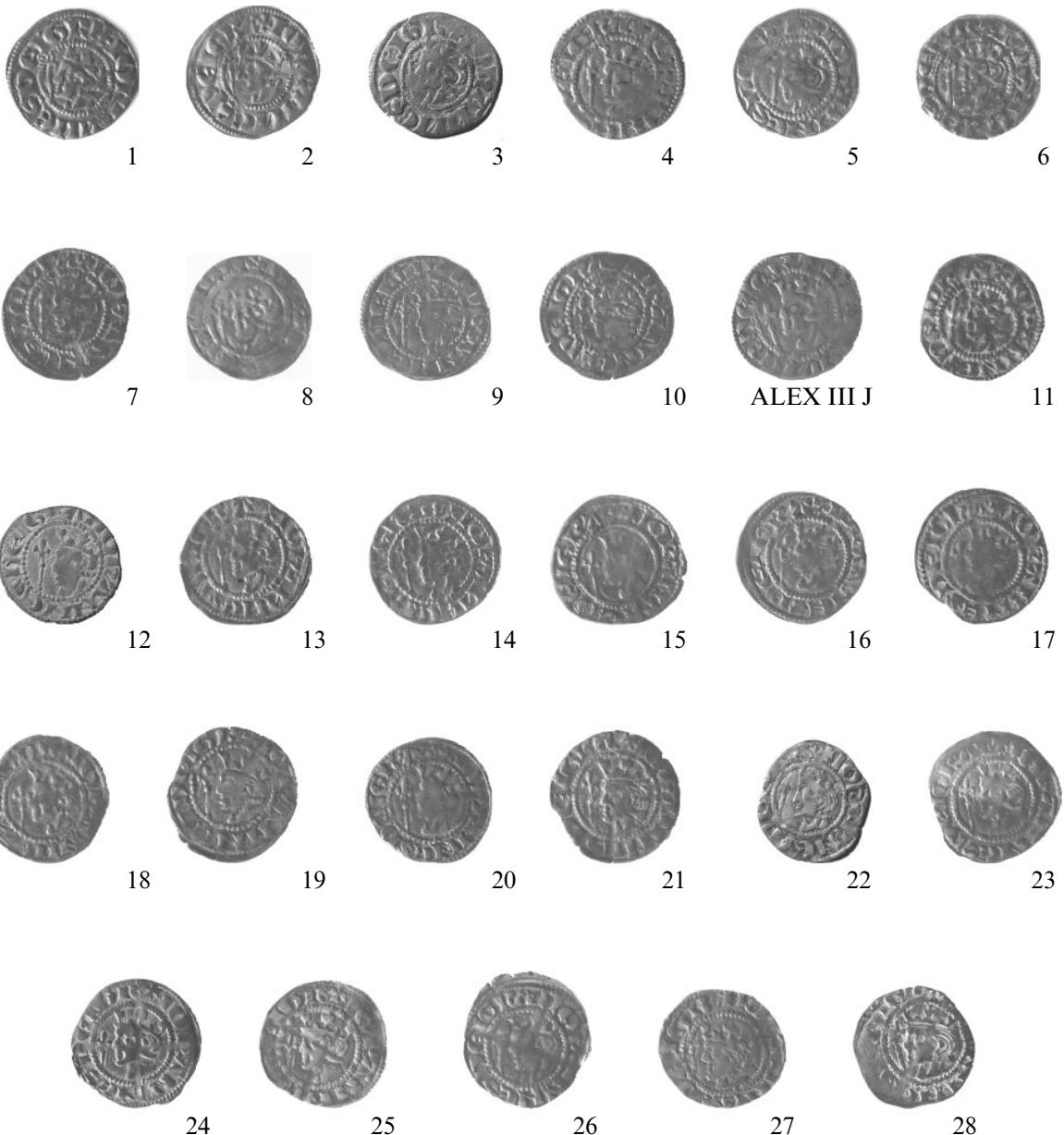
NAISMITH: COINAGE OF OFFA REVISITED (1)

PLATE 8



NAISMITH: COINAGE OF OFFA REVISITED (2)

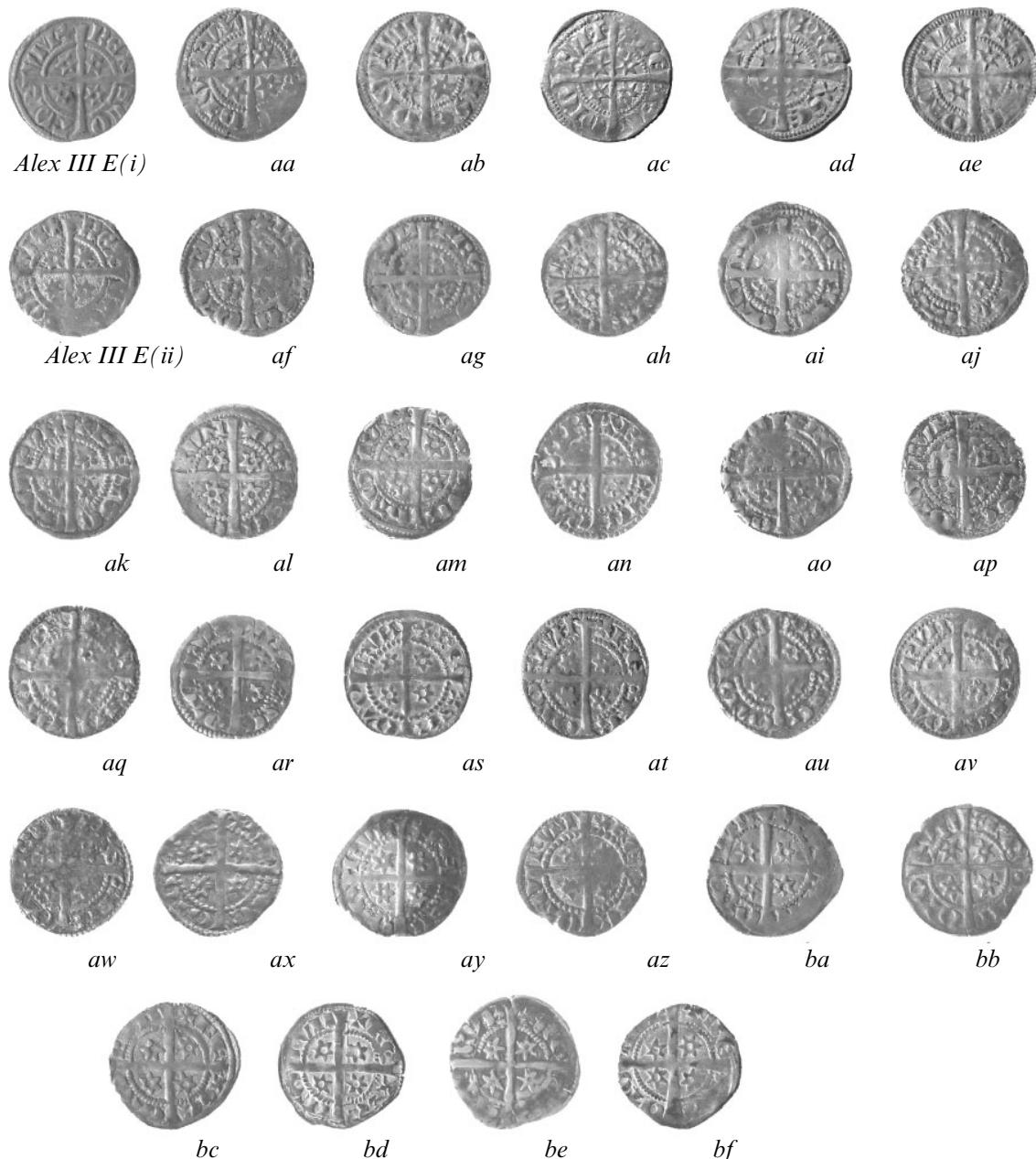
PLATE 9



FIRST ISSUE REX SCOTORUM PENNIES: OBVERSE DIES

HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (1)

PLATE 10



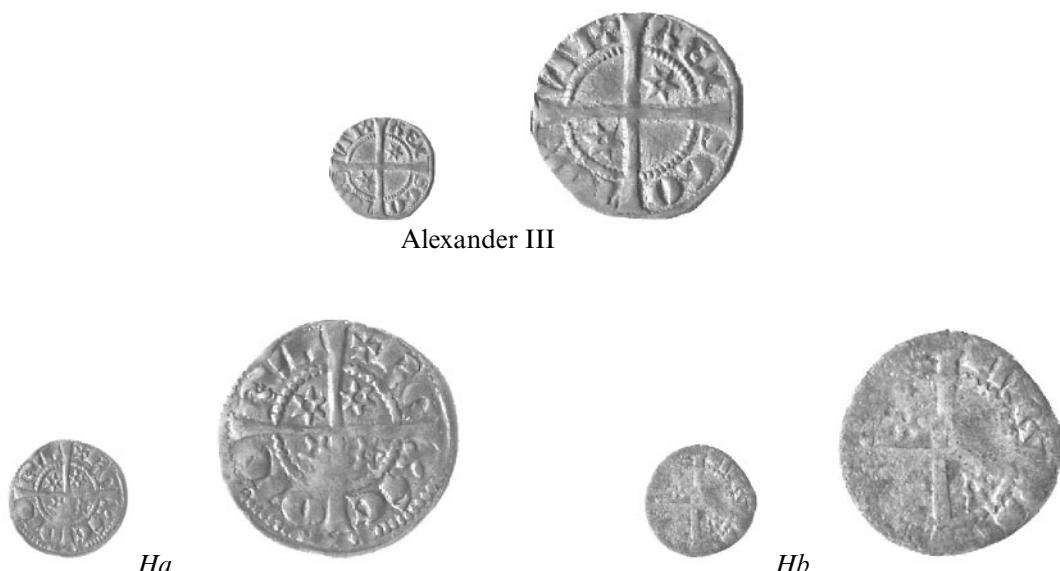
FIRST ISSUE REX SCOTORUM PENNIES: REVERSE DIES

HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (2)

PLATE 11



FIRST ISSUE REX SCOTORUM HALFPENNIES: OBVERSE DIES (1:1, 2:1)



FIRST ISSUE REX SCOTORUM HALFPENNIES: REVERSE DIES (1:1, 2:1)

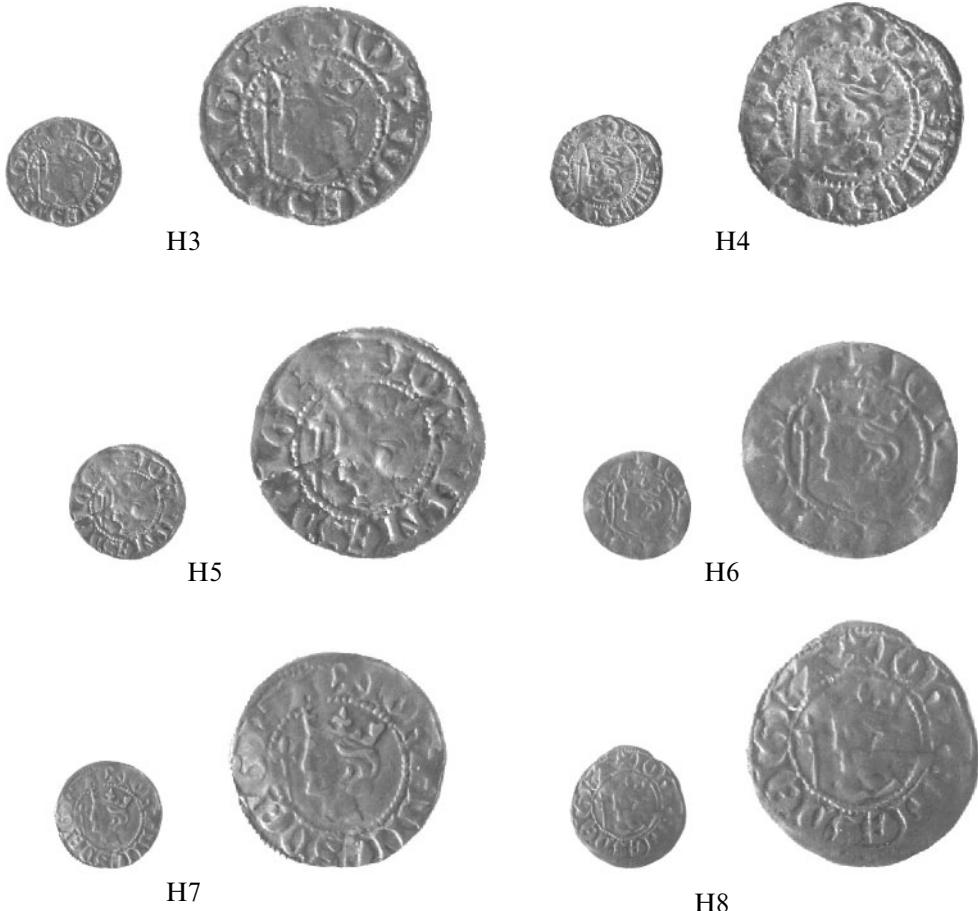
HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (3)

PLATE 12

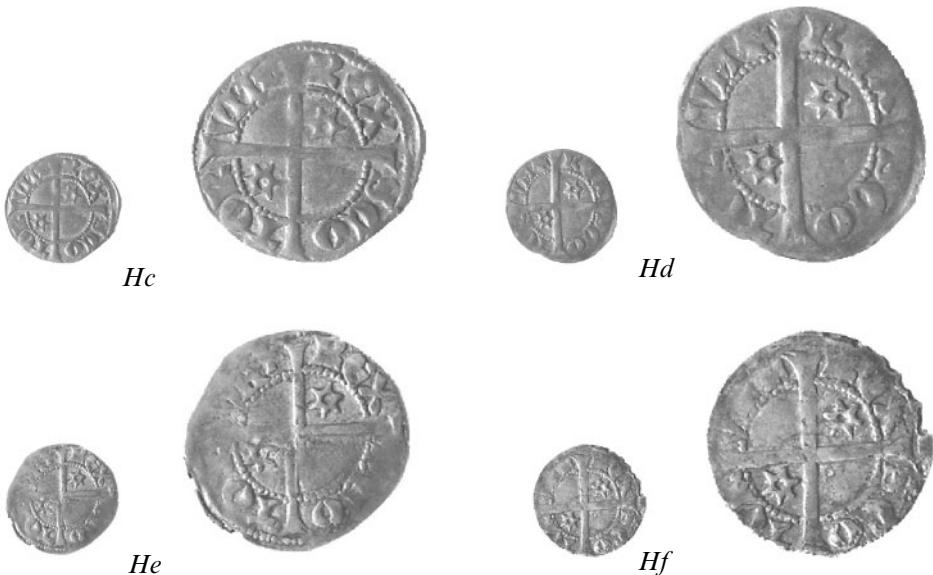


HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (4)

PLATE 13



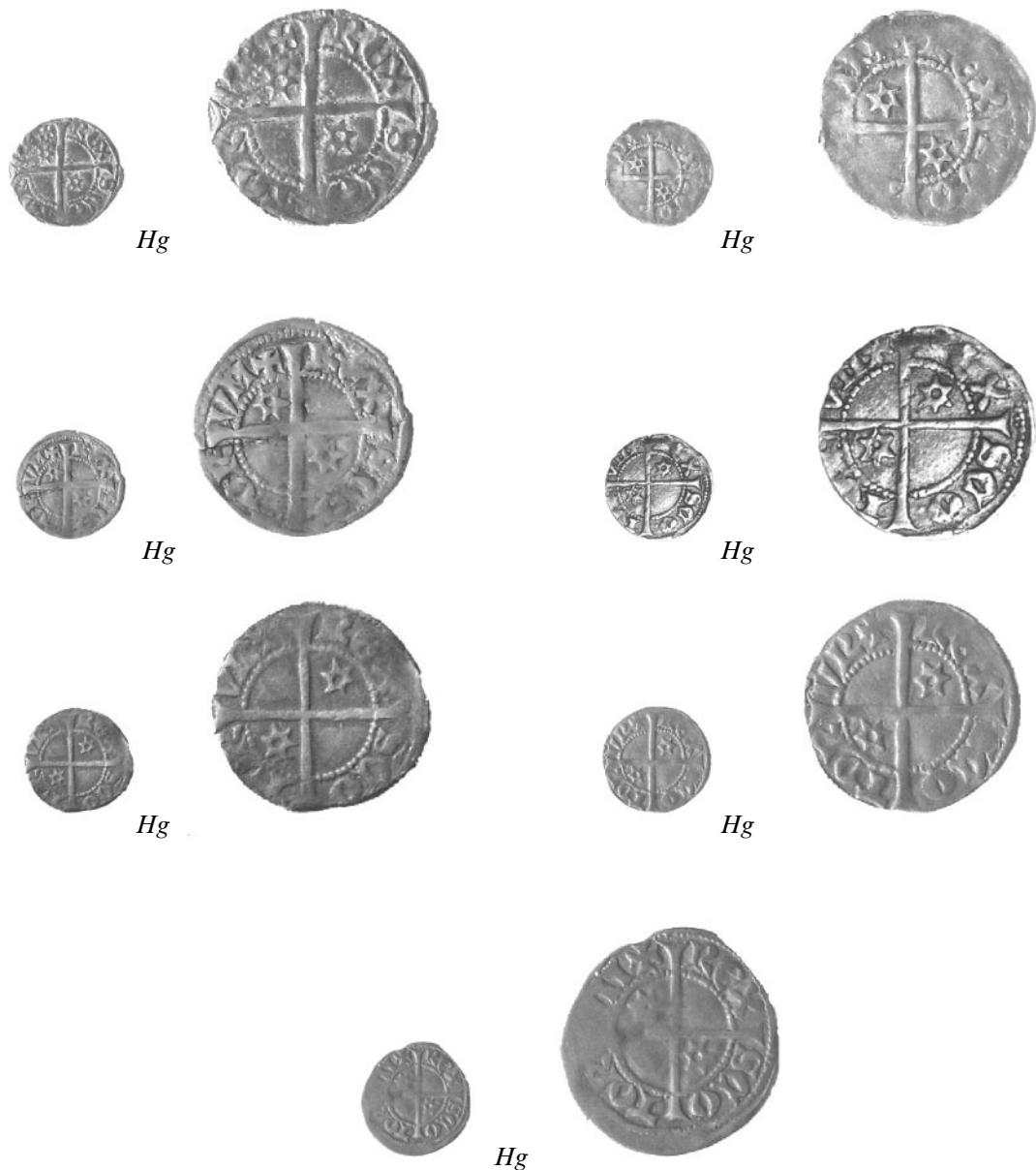
SECOND ISSUE REX SCOTORUM HALFPENNIES: OBVERSE DIES (1:1, 2:1)



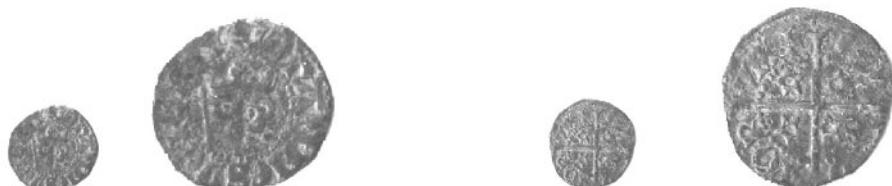
SECOND ISSUE REX SCOTORUM HALFPENNIES: REVERSE DIES 1 (1:1, 2:1)

HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (5)

PLATE 14



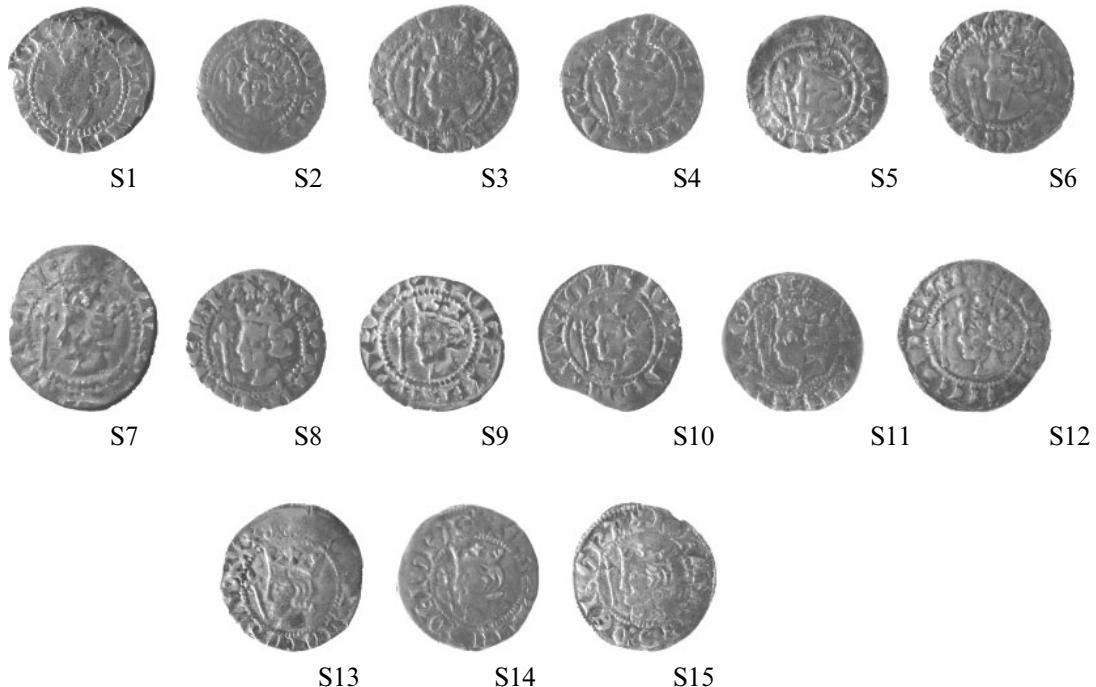
SECOND ISSUE REX SCOTORUM HALFPENNIES: REVERSE DIES 2 (1:1, 2:1)



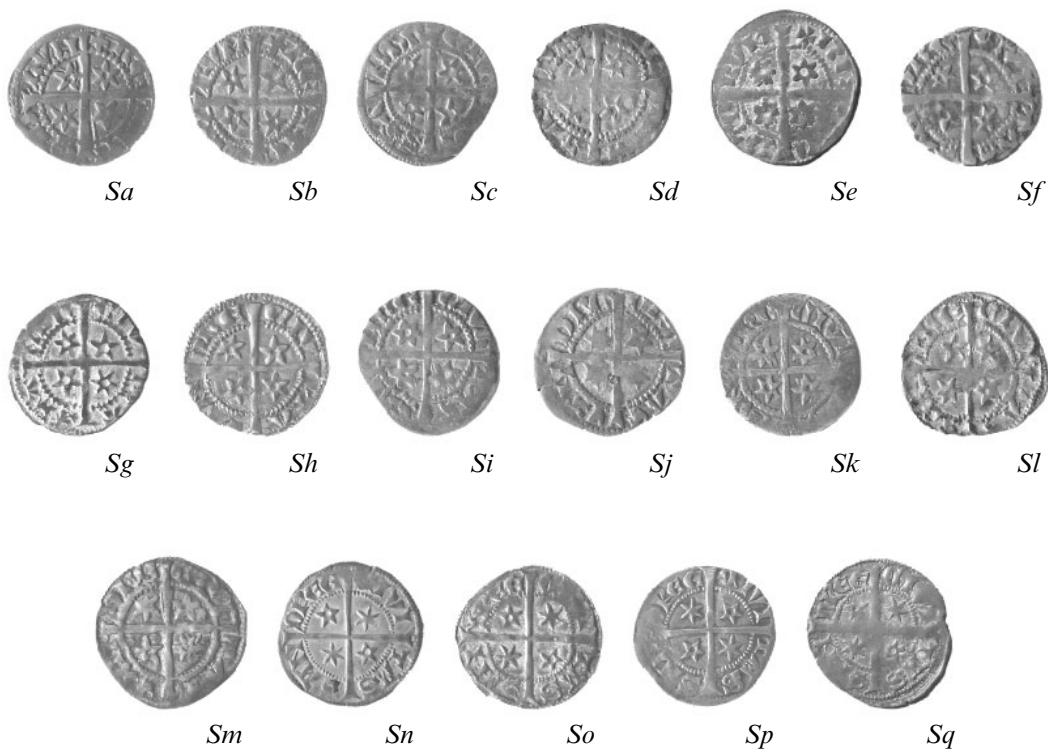
SECOND ISSUE REX SCOTORUM FARTHING (1:1, 2:1)

HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (6)

PLATE 15



FIRST AND SECOND ISSUE ST ANDREWS PENNIES: OBVERSE DIES



FIRST AND SECOND ISSUE ST ANDREWS PENNIES: REVERSE DIES

HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (7)

PLATE 16



FIRST ISSUE ST ANDREWS HALFPENNIES: OBVERSE DIES (1:1, 2:1)



FIRST ISSUE ST ANDREWS HALFPENNIES: REVERSE DIES (1:1, 2:1)



SECOND ISSUE ST ANDREWS HALFPENNIES: OBVERSE AND REVERSE DIES (1:1, 2:1)

HOLMES AND STEWARTBY: JOHN BALIOL (8)

PLATE 17



1



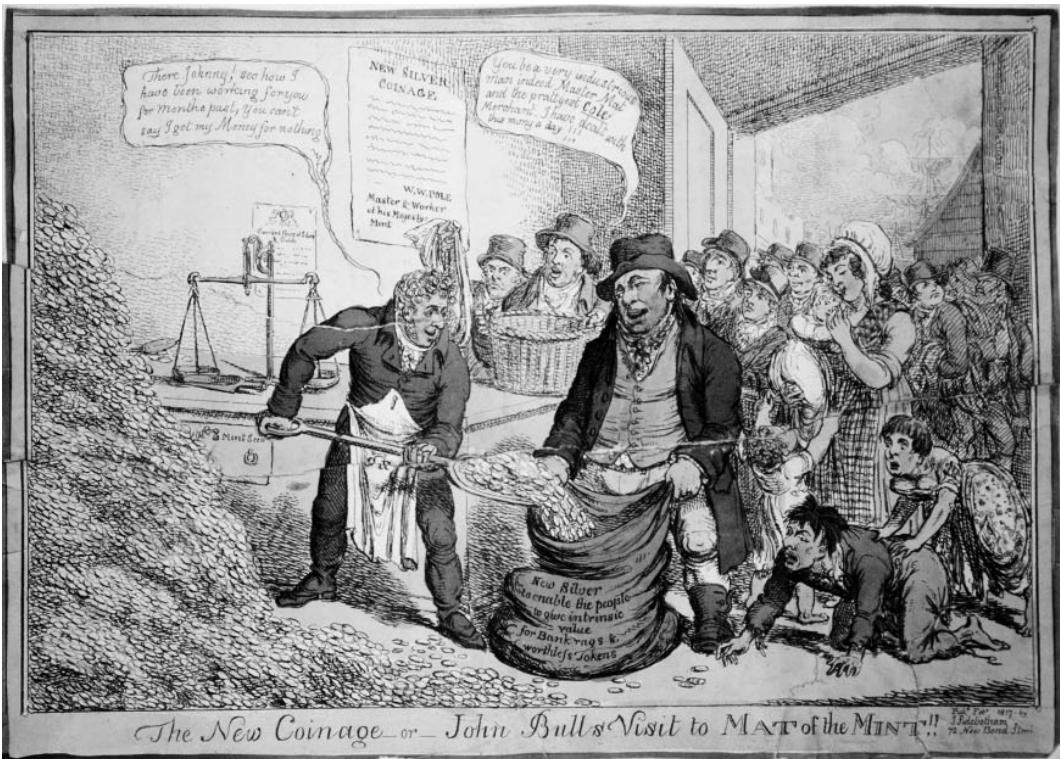
2



3

EAGLEN: ILLUSTRATION OF COINS (1)

PLATE 18



1



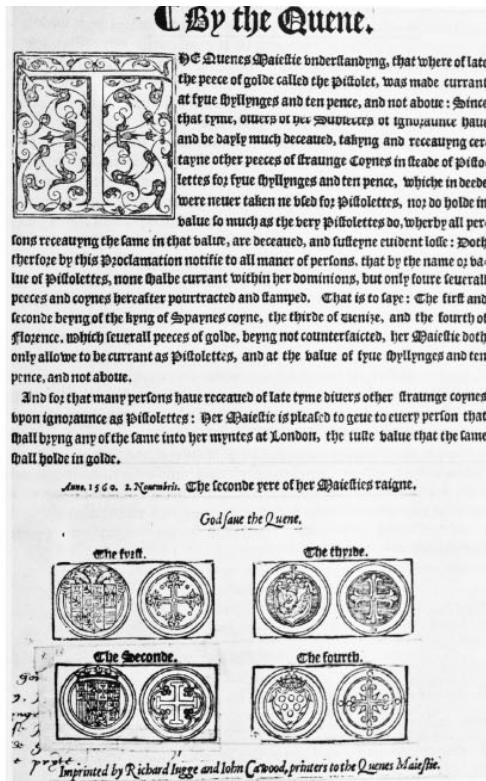
2

EAGLEN: ILLUSTRATION OF COINS (2)

PLATE 19



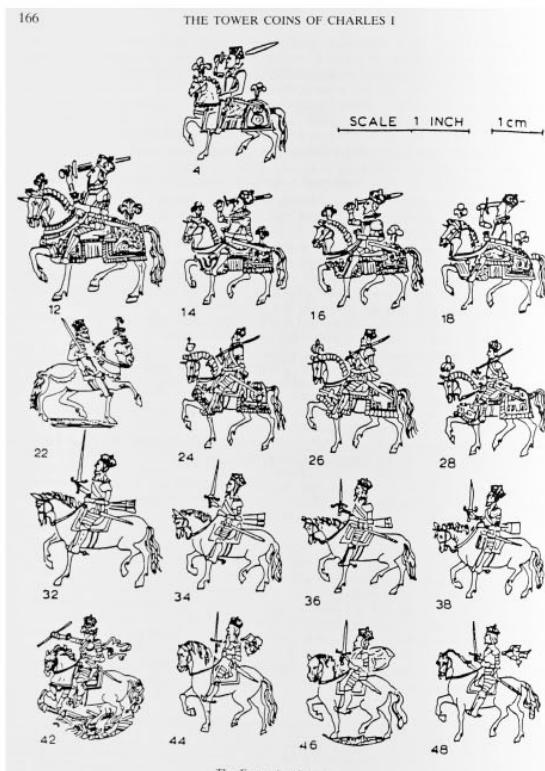
1



2



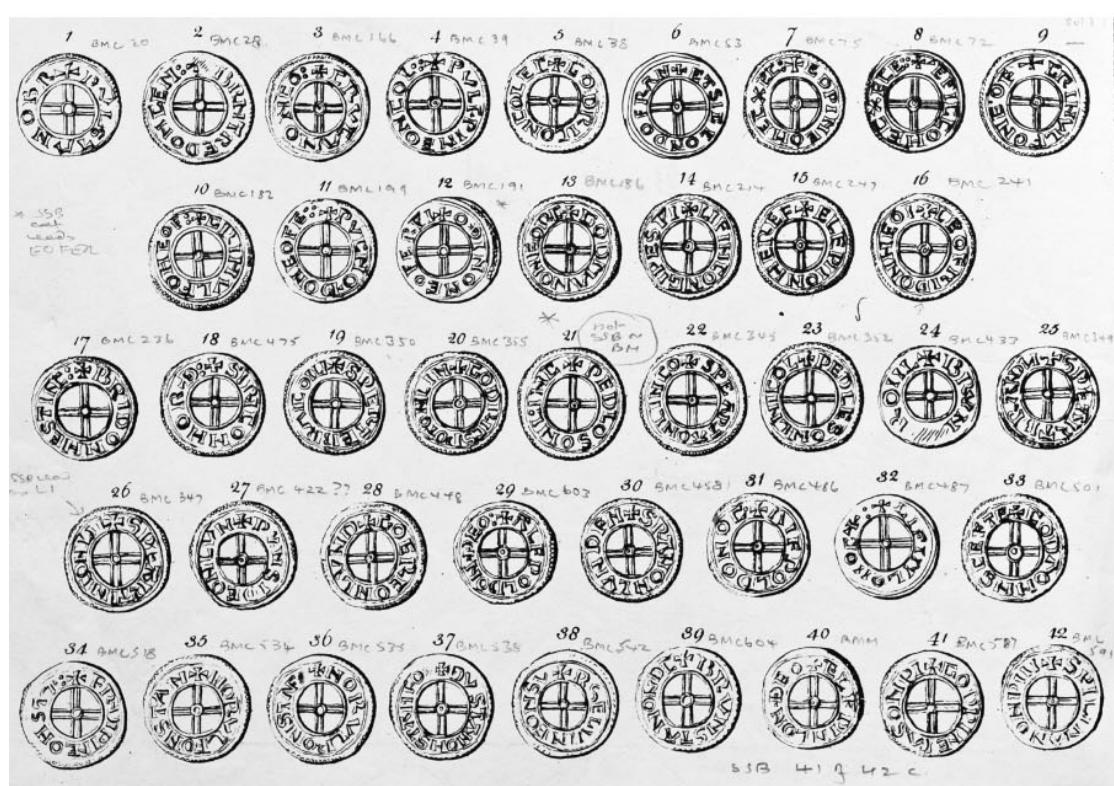
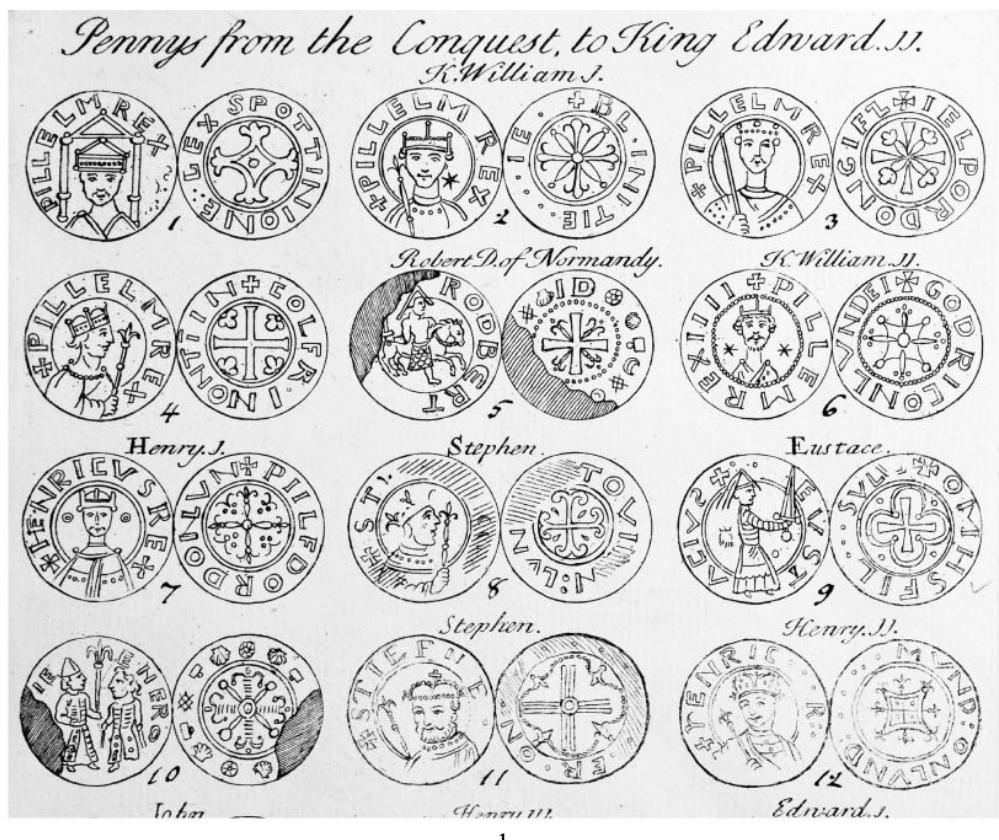
3



4

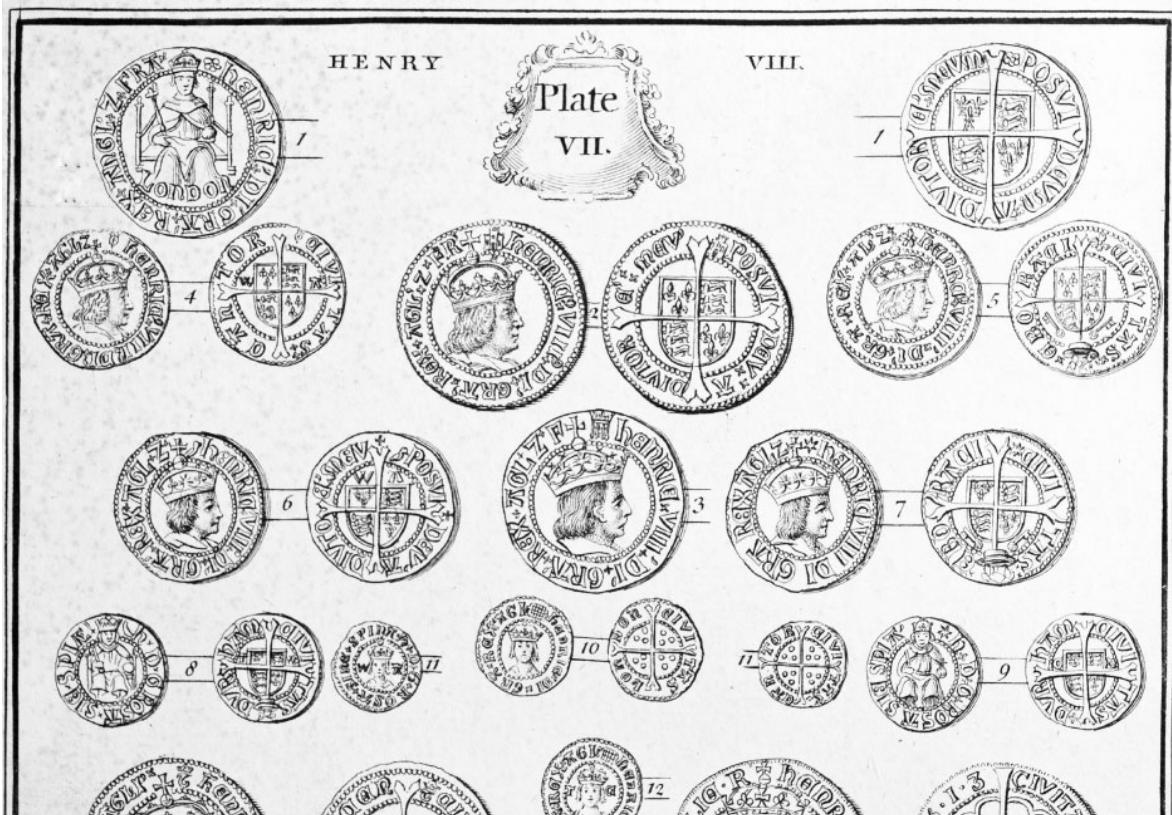
EAGLEN: ILLUSTRATION OF COINS (3)

PLATE 20

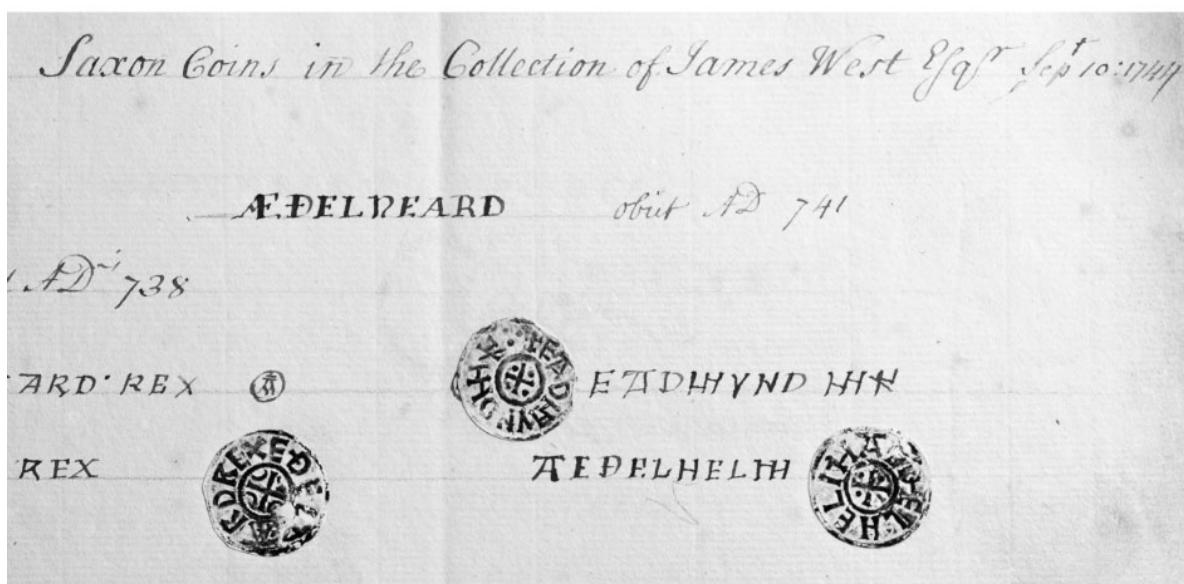


EAGLEN: ILLUSTRATION OF COINS (4)

PLATE 21



1



2

EAGLEN: ILLUSTRATION OF COINS (5)

PLATE 22

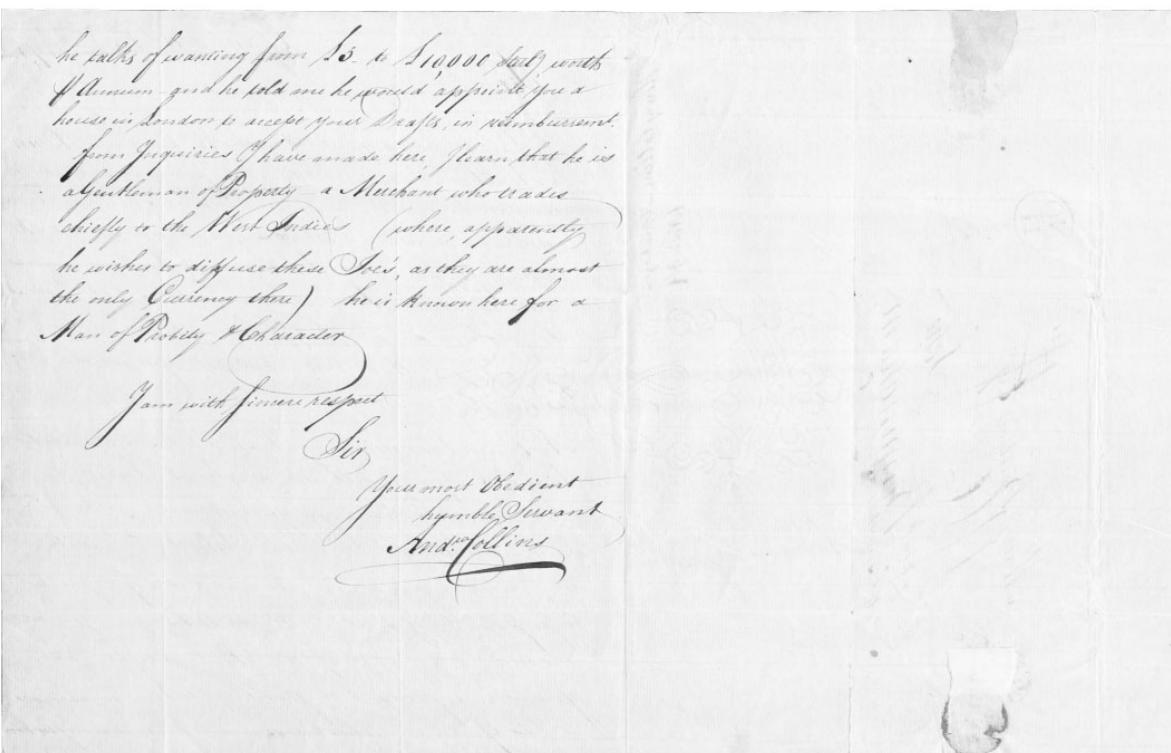
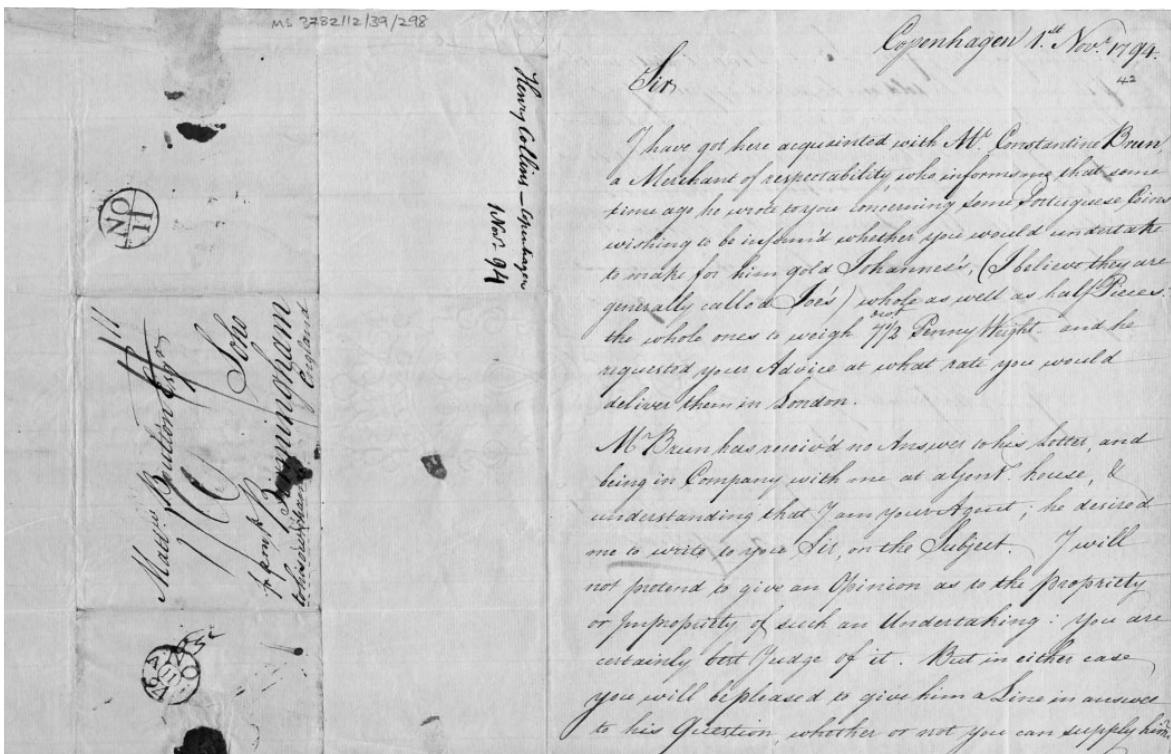


PLATE 23

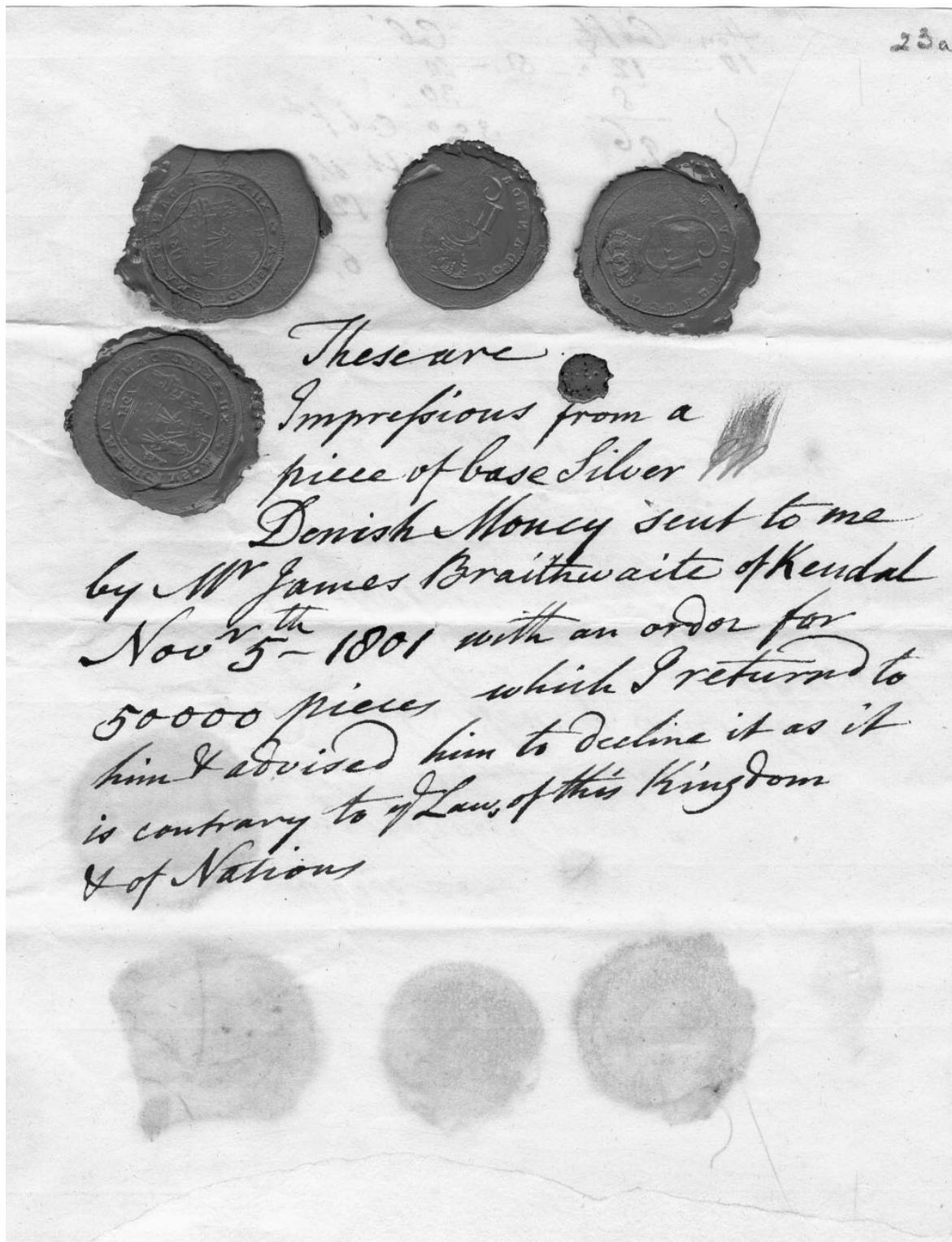


PLATE 24

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2-3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1-3 $\frac{3}{4}$
3-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$

PLATE 25



COIN REGISTER 2010: CELTIC AND ROMAN

PLATE 26



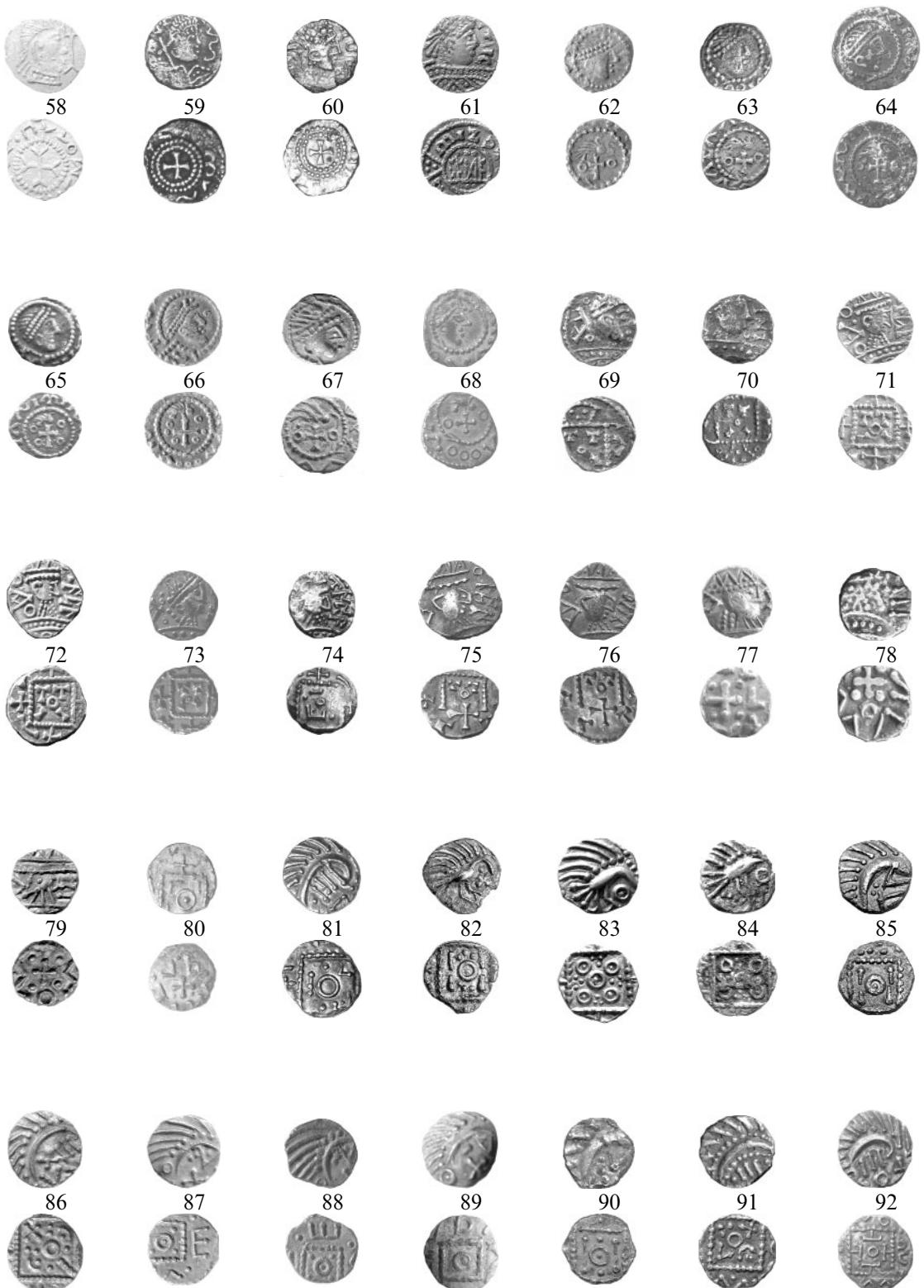
COIN REGISTER 2010: ROMAN

PLATE 27



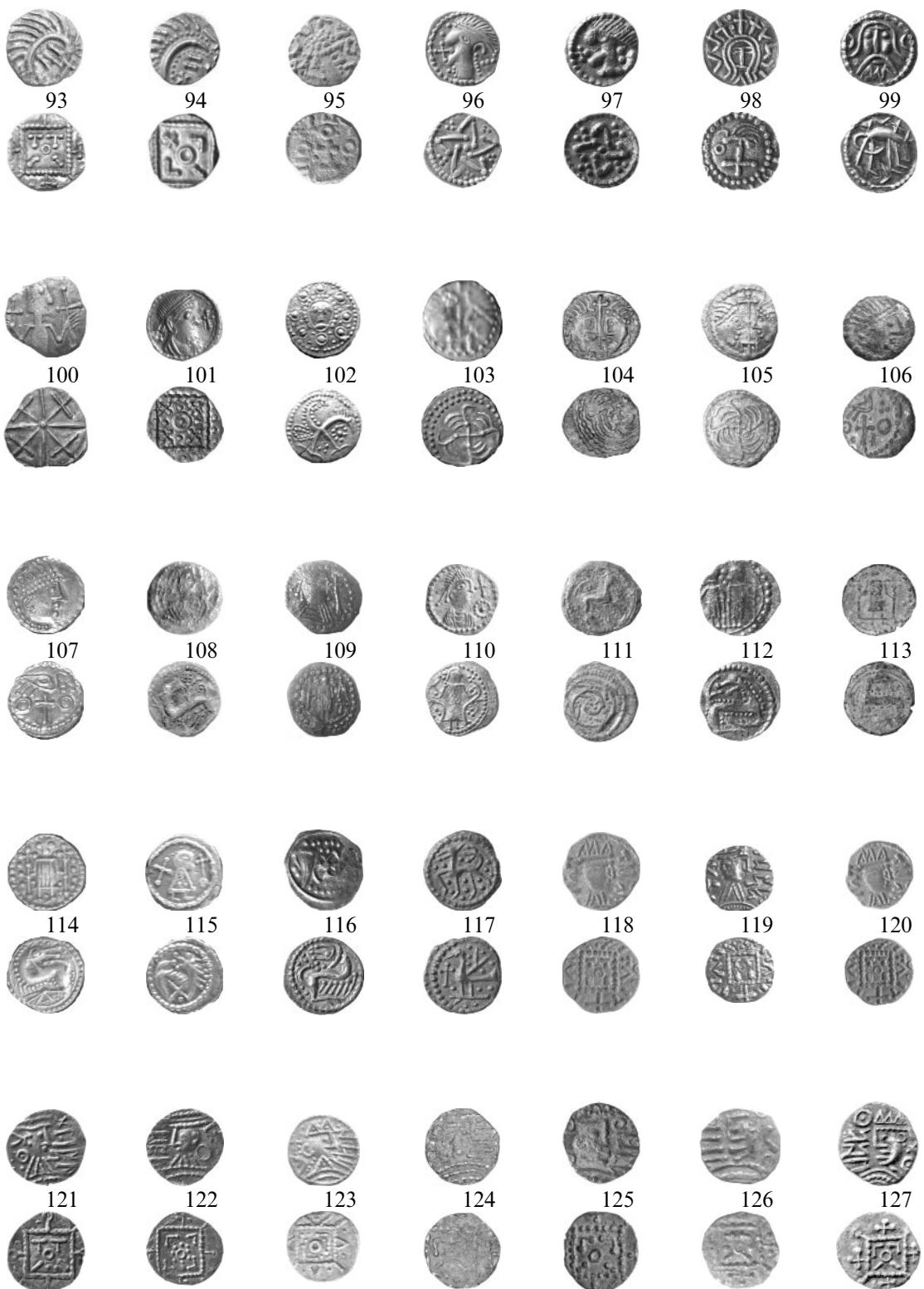
COIN REGISTER 2010: ROMAN TO ANGLO-SAXON GOLD

PLATE 28



COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON GOLD AND SCEATTAS

PLATE 29



COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS

PLATE 30



128



129



130



131



132



133



134



135



136



137



138



139



140



141



142



143



144



145



146



147



148



149



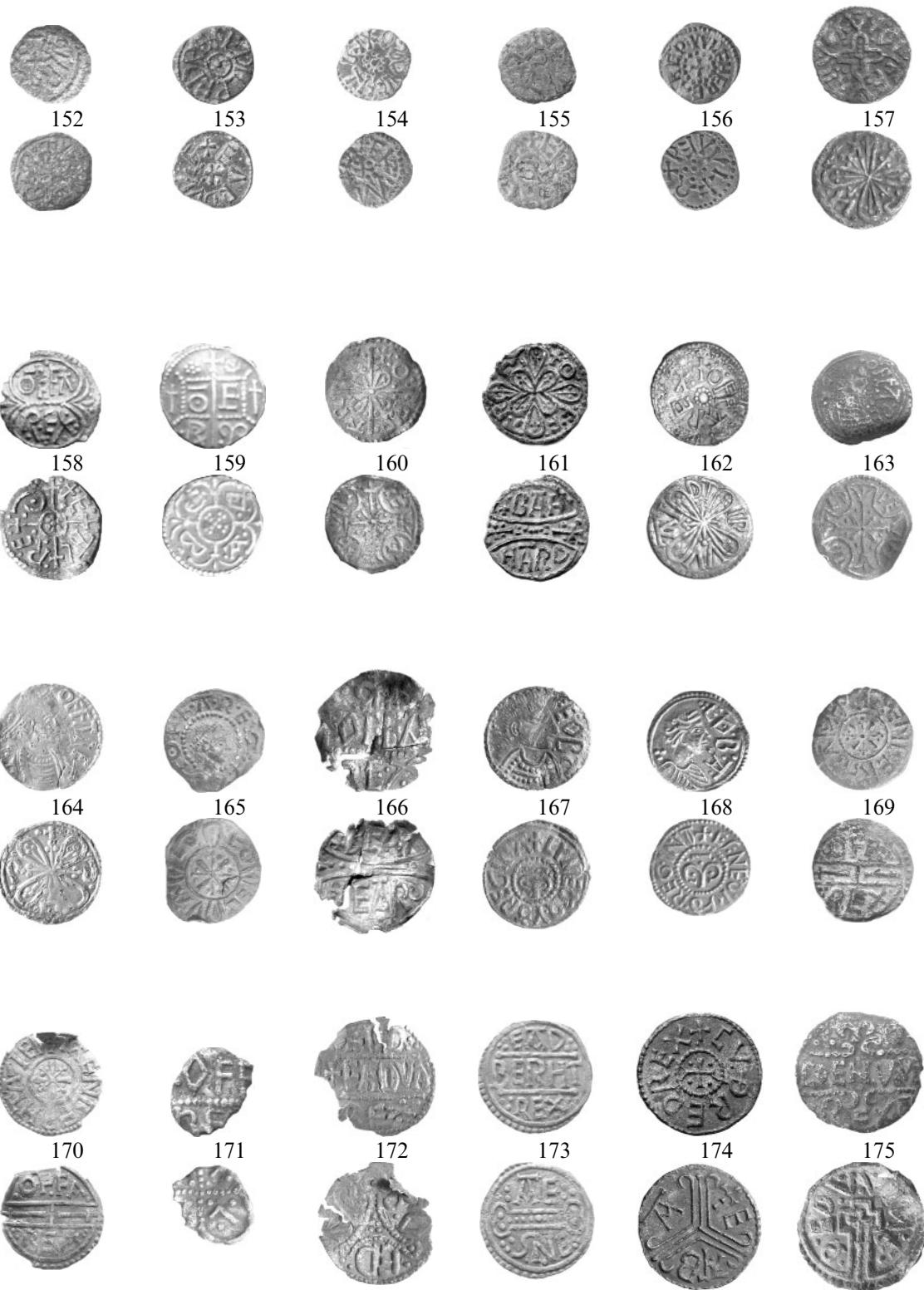
150



151

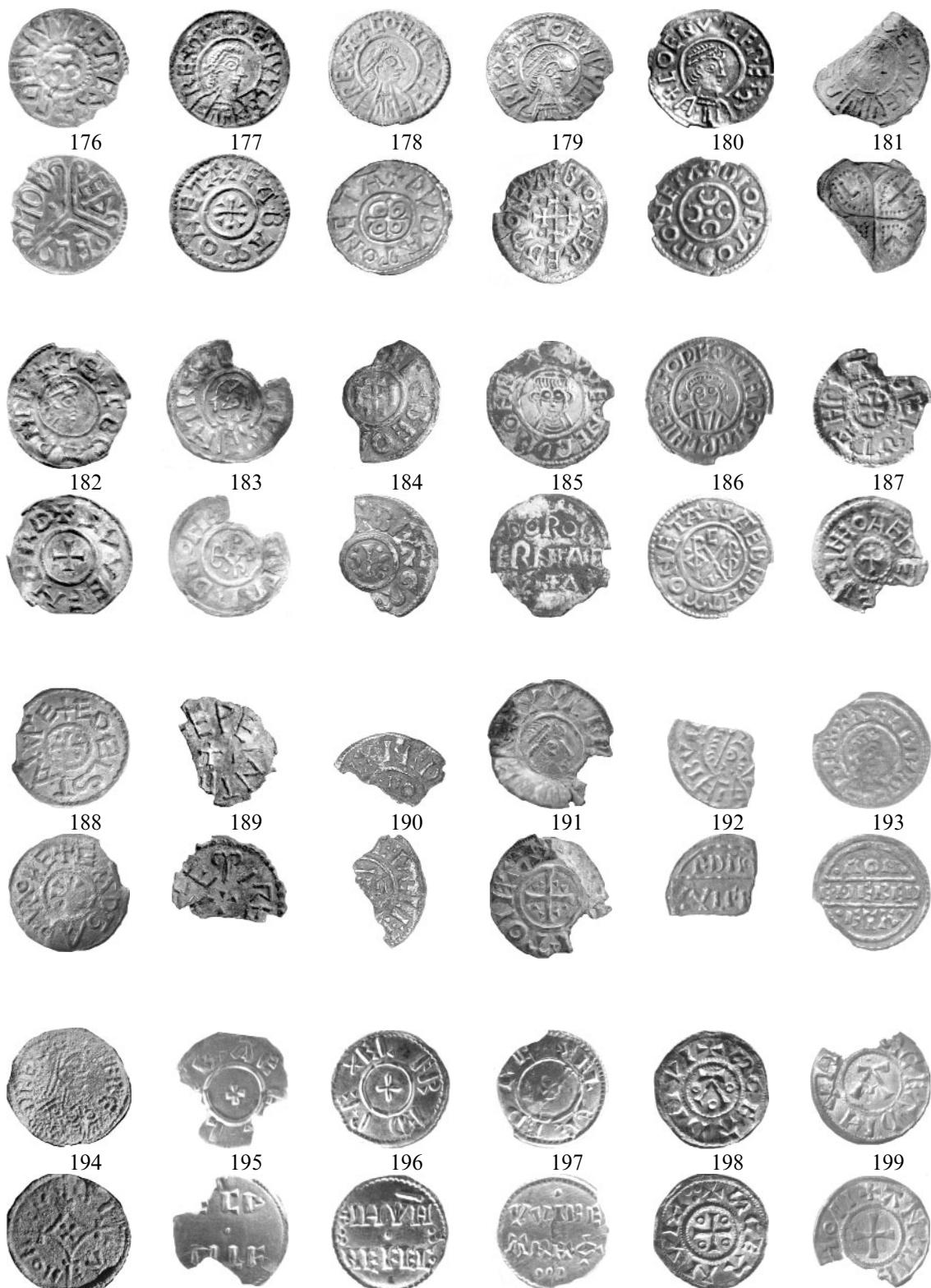
COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON (1)

PLATE 31



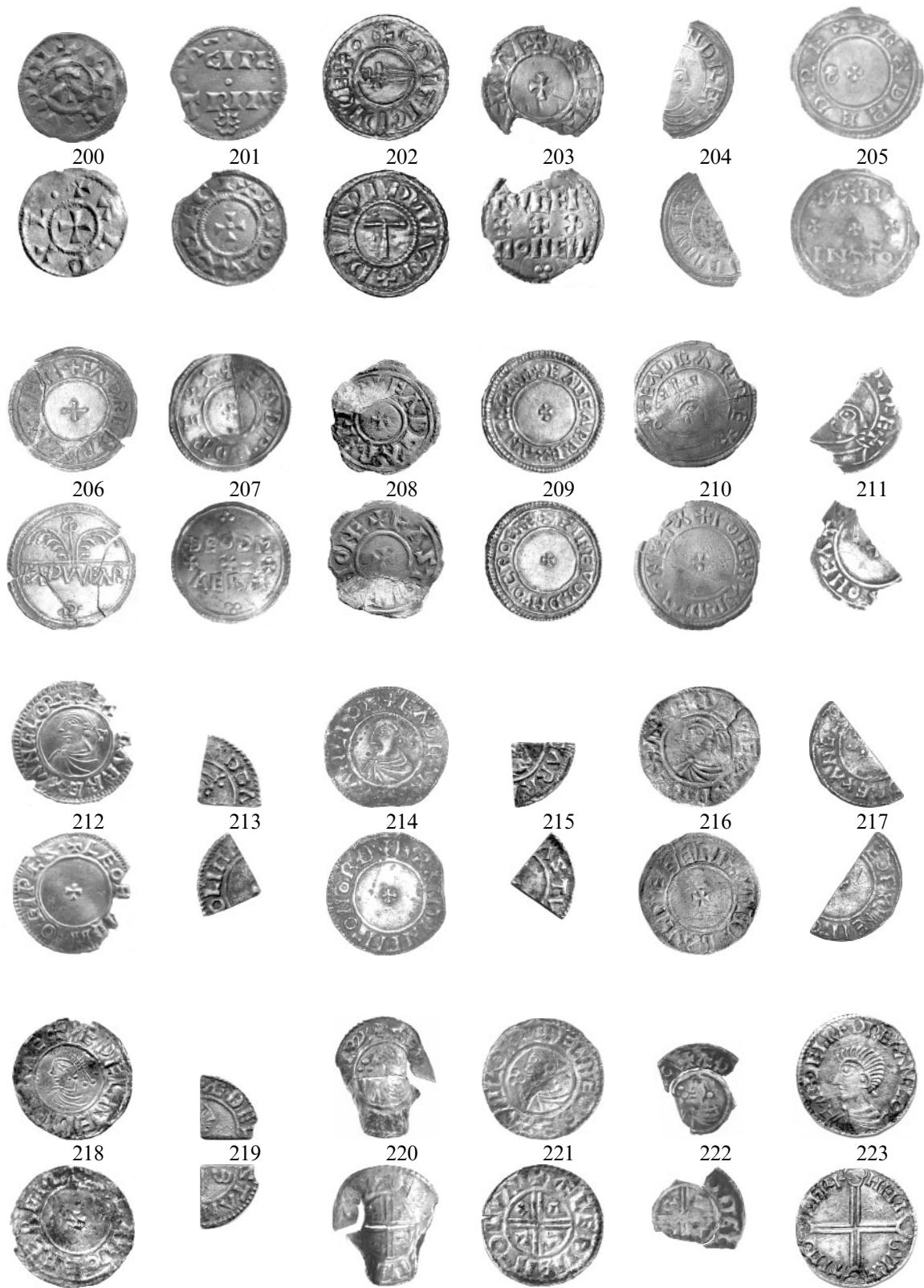
COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON (2)

PLATE 32



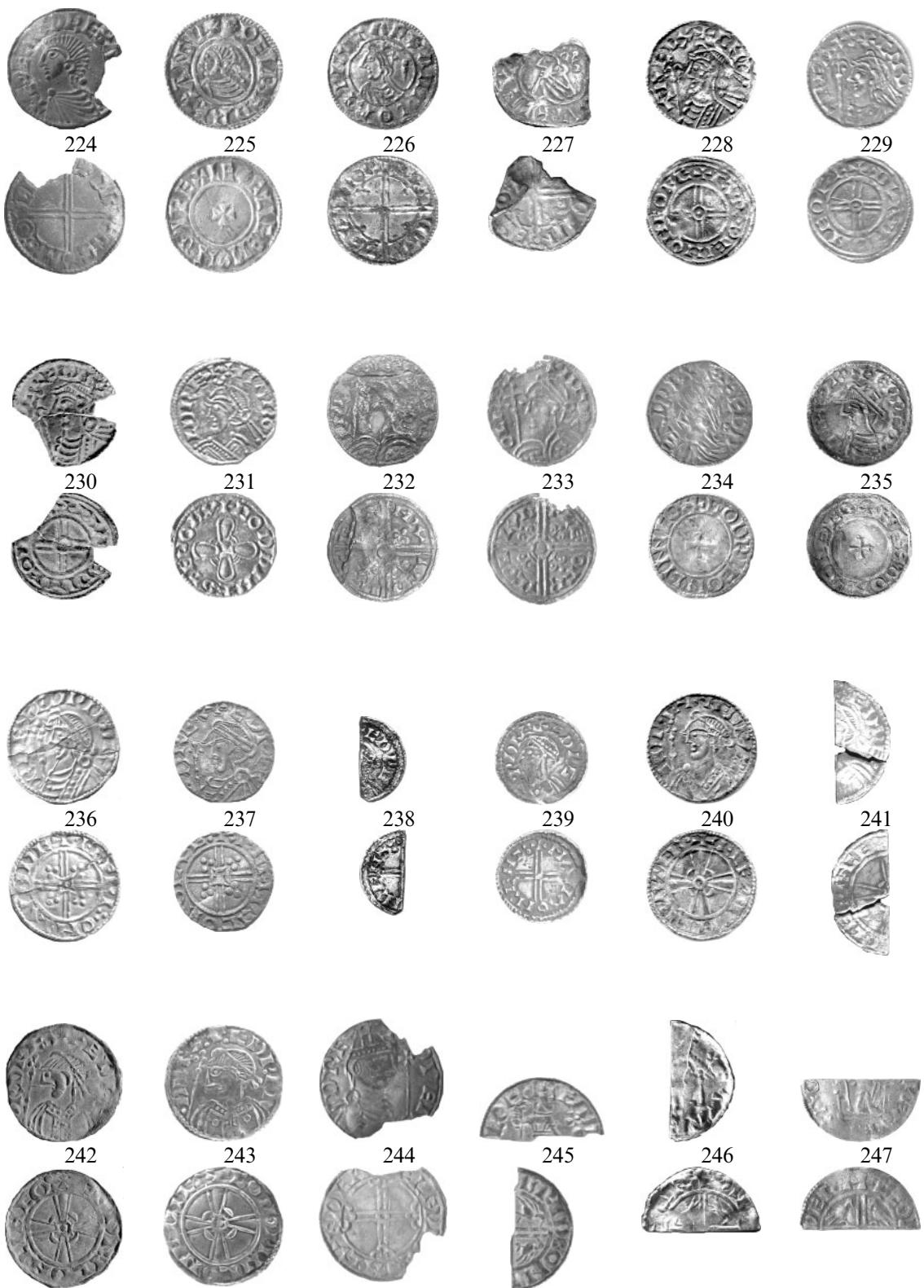
COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON (3)

PLATE 33



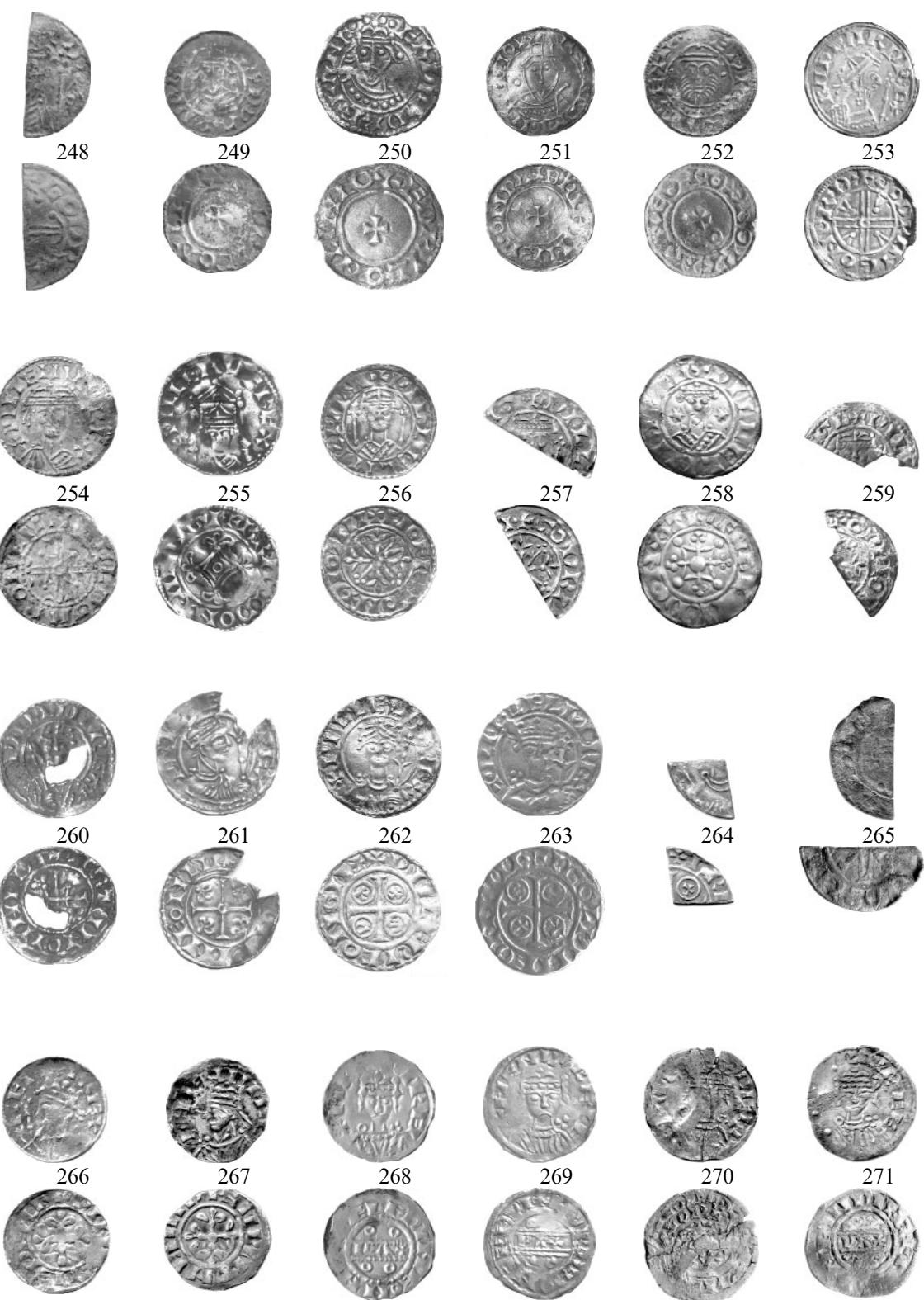
COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON (4)

PLATE 34



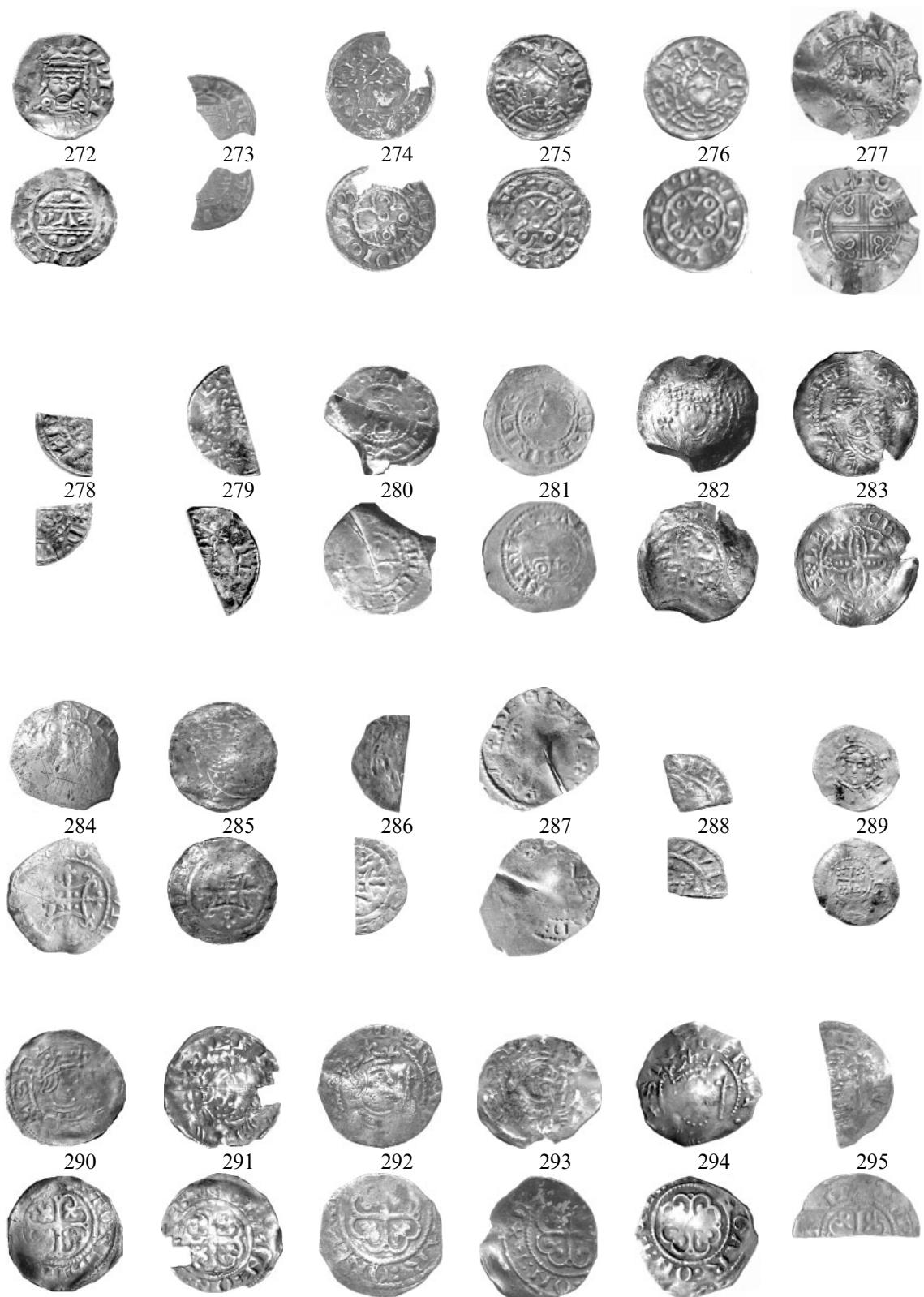
COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON (5)

PLATE 35



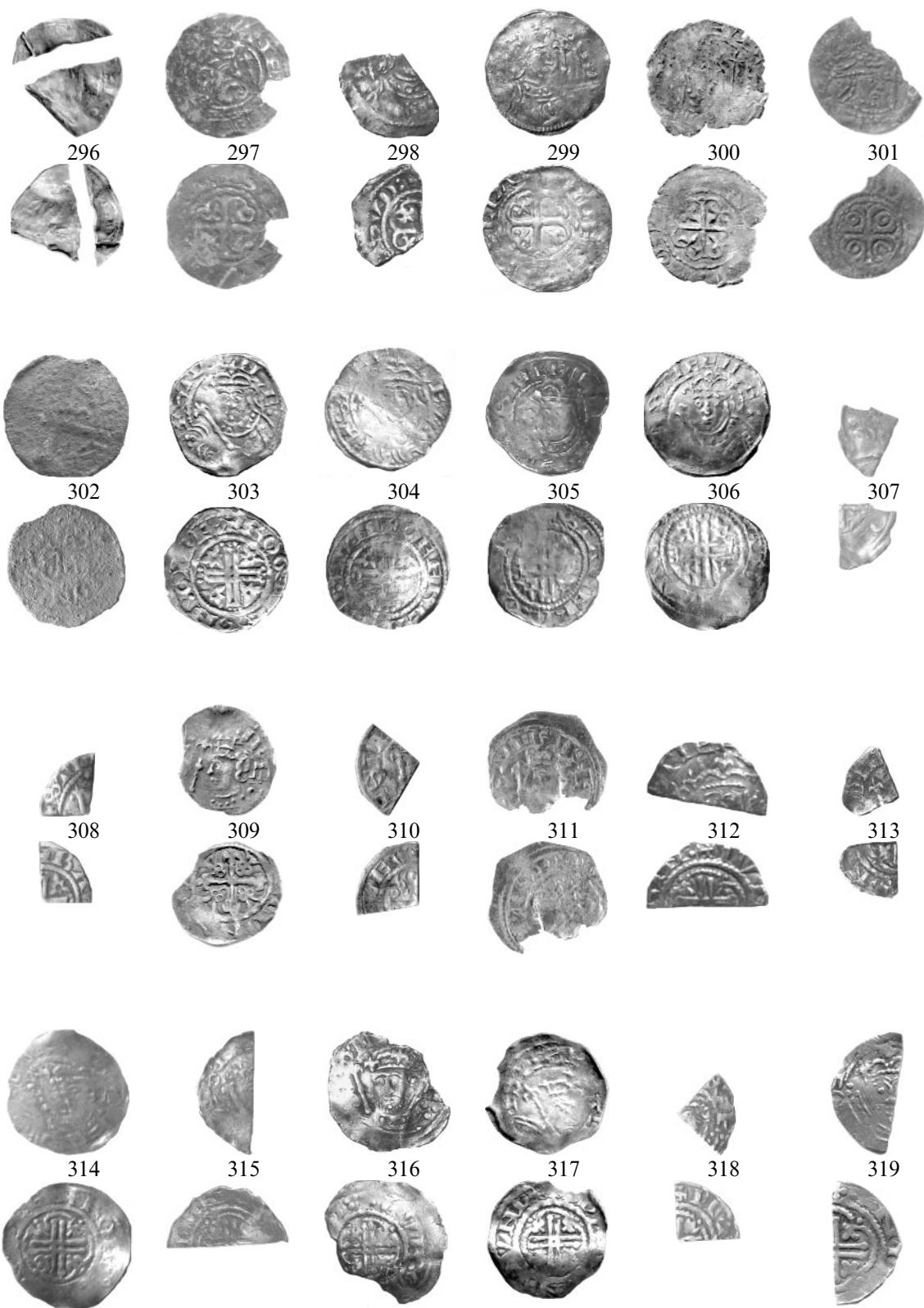
COIN REGISTER 2010: ANGLO-SAXON AND POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH

PLATE 36



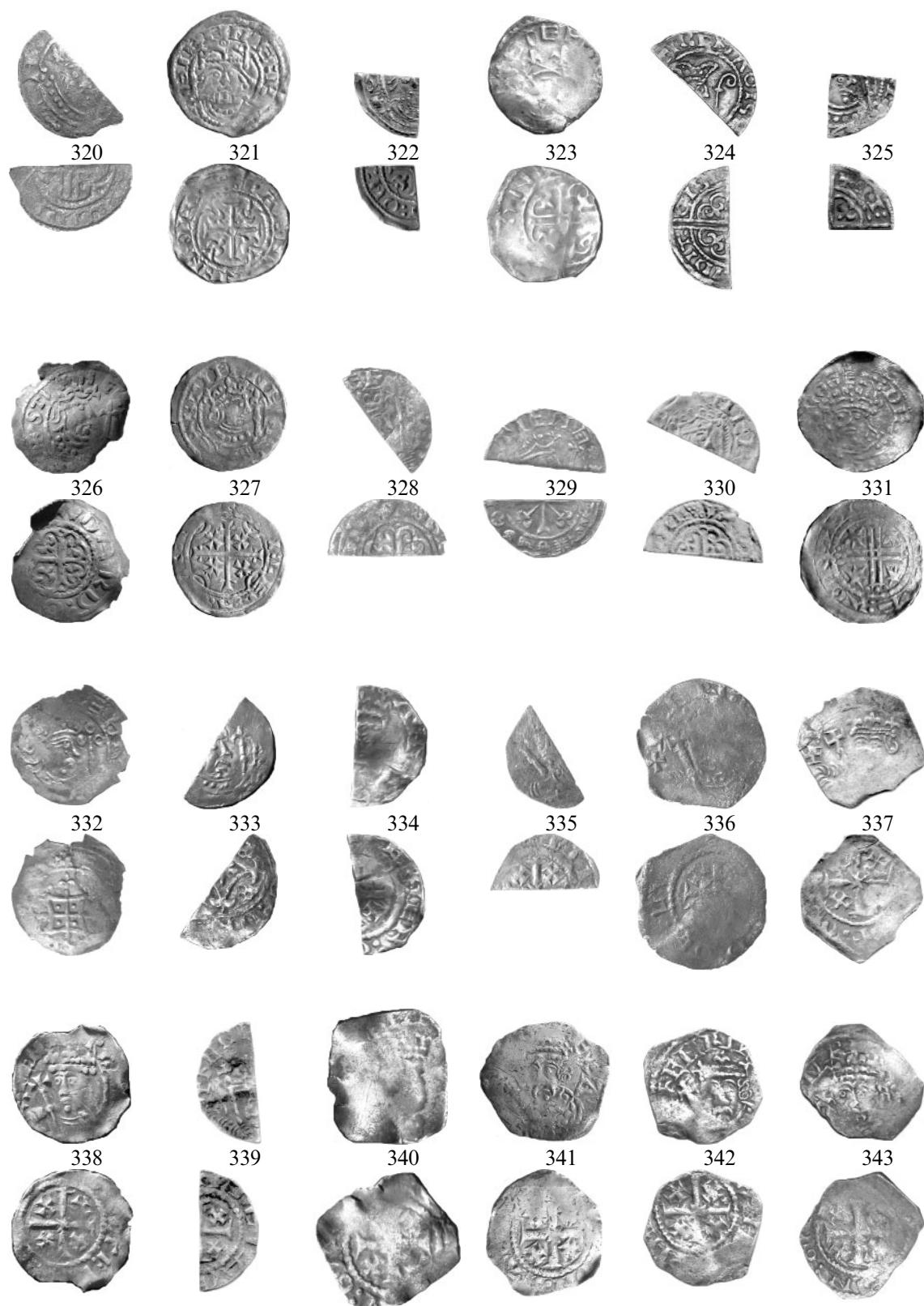
COIN REGISTER 2010: POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH (1)

PLATE 37



COIN REGISTER 2010: POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH (2)

PLATE 38



COIN REGISTER 2010: POST-CONQUEST ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

PLATE 39

